

JV 6606 .A4 B7 1929a
Brunner, Edmund de
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Immigrant farmers and their
children

Institute of Social and Religious Research

IMMIGRANT FARMERS
AND THEIR CHILDREN

EDMUND DES. BRUNNER

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IMMIGRANT FARMERS AND THEIR CHILDREN

BY
EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER

WITH FOUR STUDIES OF IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES



GARDEN CITY, NEW YORK
DOUBLEDAY, DORAN & COMPANY, INC.

1929

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GARDEN CITY, N. Y.

FIRST EDITION

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INTRODUCTION

Few questions of public policy in the United States have commanded a more sustained interest or been more consistently debated than has immigration. Despite the oratory of the last century that delighted in picturing America as the land of opportunity, the haven of the oppressed and disadvantaged of all nations, there has never been a time since the early history of the republic when the policy of unrestricted immigration was not called into question. The press of a century ago bemoaned the arrival of the crude, untutored peasants from Ireland and other northern European countries, and in the years immediately prior to the Civil War many publicists "viewed with alarm" the Germans and Scandinavians in the Middle West.

With the coming of the new immigration from southern and eastern Europe the opposition deepened but changed its point of attack. The once-despised northern Europeans were now discovered to be desirable Nordics of the same high level of intelligence, diligence, and culture as the native colonial stock. The melting pot, it was found, could assimilate them to the benefit of America; but the newer immigration was another matter. Books poured from the presses purporting to show that these new immigrants were lowering the level of American culture and the standard of living of American homes; their failure to naturalize and their tenacious insistence upon retaining their own social organizations and churches for the perpetuation of their customs and language were undermining the fabric of American society. Congressional investigations were held to determine if these and similar allegations were true. Finally, the quota law was passed, mainly as an economic measure; but the controversy is by no means ended.

Despite all this discussion, at least two important questions have not so far received satisfactory answers.

1. Does the melting pot really melt, or, in other words, do the immigrants really become merged in the native population? This question may be answered in part by an actual count of

the marriages of immigrants and their children to see to what extent they consort with their own kind or with the native stock. It is such an examination of the marriages of immigrants that this study has undertaken.¹

2. Is the general level of intelligence of the newer immigration so inferior as to constitute a danger to American culture? This is popularly accepted as a fact on the basis of the army tests. The army tests, however, have been criticized severely on a number of grounds.² One criticism is that the same test was not given to all the men tested by the army. Instead a so-called Beta test was given to men not familiar with the English language, while another, the Alpha test, was given to those speaking English, including, of course, many immigrants. Although theoretically it is possible to convert Beta into Alpha scores, the validity of the method of conversion actually employed in "Army Mental Tests" has been seriously questioned by competent critics. To obtain an answer then to the question as to whether immigration is lowering intelligence it would seem best to compare the children of immigrants with the children of the native-born, taking both groups from similar environments. Certain studies have been undertaken along these lines, but they have been limited in scope and have covered but a small number of cases.

Not only have these two fundamental questions not been satisfactorily answered, but in all the immense volume of literature dealing with the question of immigration hardly any consideration has been paid to those of the foreign-born that live in rural America, about one quarter of the total number. Immigration has been viewed as an urban problem. Chiefly it is this, but not exclusively. The announced assimilation of the Nordics was largely a rural process, and the fact that the present quota law gives preferred position to immigrants with agricultural experience lends an additional importance to a study of immigrants in rural areas.

For this latter reason and also because it was thought that the less complex social organism of the rural areas would afford

¹The late Julius Drachsler made a study for New York City alone of the extent of intermarriage among various nationalities of foreigners, but did not study the marriage of foreigners and their children with native-born of native parents.

²Cf. Kirkpatrick, *Intelligence and Immigration* (Baltimore, Williams and Wilkins, 1926), chap. II, for a full discussion of the validity of the army tests.

a more manageable sample than the cities for studying the intelligence and the matrimonial habits of immigrants, the Institute of Social and Religious Research set for itself in 1926 and 1927 the task of studying foreign-born farmers and their children in the United States. In this study it was possible to ascertain how many immigrant farmers there are, how they are distributed over the country, and something regarding their characteristics. It was possible to ascertain how these immigrants, as farmers, measure up to American standards; whether they and their children are intellectually and culturally handicapped; and how they have adapted themselves to the social life of the country areas as the process of adaptation may be indicated by their intermarriage with people of native stock and their participation in rural economic, social, and religious organizations. The results of these general phases of the study are presented in the first part of this book. In addition, intensive studies were made of four different types of communities to afford more intimate knowledge than the general study itself could give of the problems encountered here by our immigrant farmers. These four case studies form the second part of the book.

It is hoped that this inquiry will afford practical help to the many rural church men, educators, and social workers who report that they are meeting peculiar problems in their efforts to serve the foreign-born in country areas.

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER.

PART I
THE GENERAL STUDY

Chapter I

FOREIGN-BORN FARMERS, THEIR NUMBER, DISTRIBUTION, AND CHARACTERISTICS

The foreign-born farming population in the United States in 1920 numbered nearly one and one half millions, which was a little less than half of the total number of *rural* immigrants¹ and a scant fourth of the entire foreign-born population.

ORIGINS OF FOREIGN-BORN FARMERS

Since foreign-born agriculturists have reached the United States from many different lands, each with its own traditions and customs, a knowledge of the source and relative size of the various racial groups is essential to an understanding of the immigrant farmer and his problems.

The general classification of the total immigrant group into the "older," or northern European, and the "newer," or southern European, immigration holds also for the foreign-born farmers, the non-Europeans among them being an almost negligible quantity. Many more farmers, however, belong to the "older" than to the "newer" immigration; and all the largest nationality groups are from northern Europe.

At the head of these nationality groups come the Germans with 140,667 foreign-born farm operators in 1920, or 24.2 per cent. of the entire number for which the country of birth was

¹The immigrant farming population and the total rural immigrant population should be clearly differentiated. The farm population as classified by the Fourteenth Census includes all persons actually living on farms without regard to their occupation and also those farm laborers and their families who, although not living on farms, nevertheless reside in rural territory outside the limits of any city or other incorporated place. The total rural immigrant group, on the other hand, includes these persons and immigrants living in unincorporated mining, manufacturing, logging or suburban centres. Cf. Truesdell, *Farm Population of the United States* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1926), p. 35. See Appendix Table 3 for detailed figures by regions and states on the foreign-born farm population.

reported.² The next largest groups, in 1920, were the Swedes and Norwegians, with 60,461 and 51,599 farm operators respectively. If to these be added the 25,000 odd Danes, the total Scandinavian group is brought up to 137,625, almost equalling the Germans. There were only four other countries represented here by more than 30,000 immigrant farm operators; namely, Canada, with 48,000 odd, Great Britain, Russia, and Austria. The total for Great Britain, nearly 37,000, includes immigrants from Scotland and Wales. Russia and Austria had each contributed a few more than 30,000 farmers; and six other countries had furnished from 13,000 to 18,000 each; namely, Italy, Poland, Ireland, The Netherlands, Finland, and Switzerland.³ These figures show the great preponderance of northern Europeans among the foreign-born farm operators. In the main, as will be seen later, these representatives of the "older" immigration have settled in the Middle West and in the Middle Atlantic and New England states.

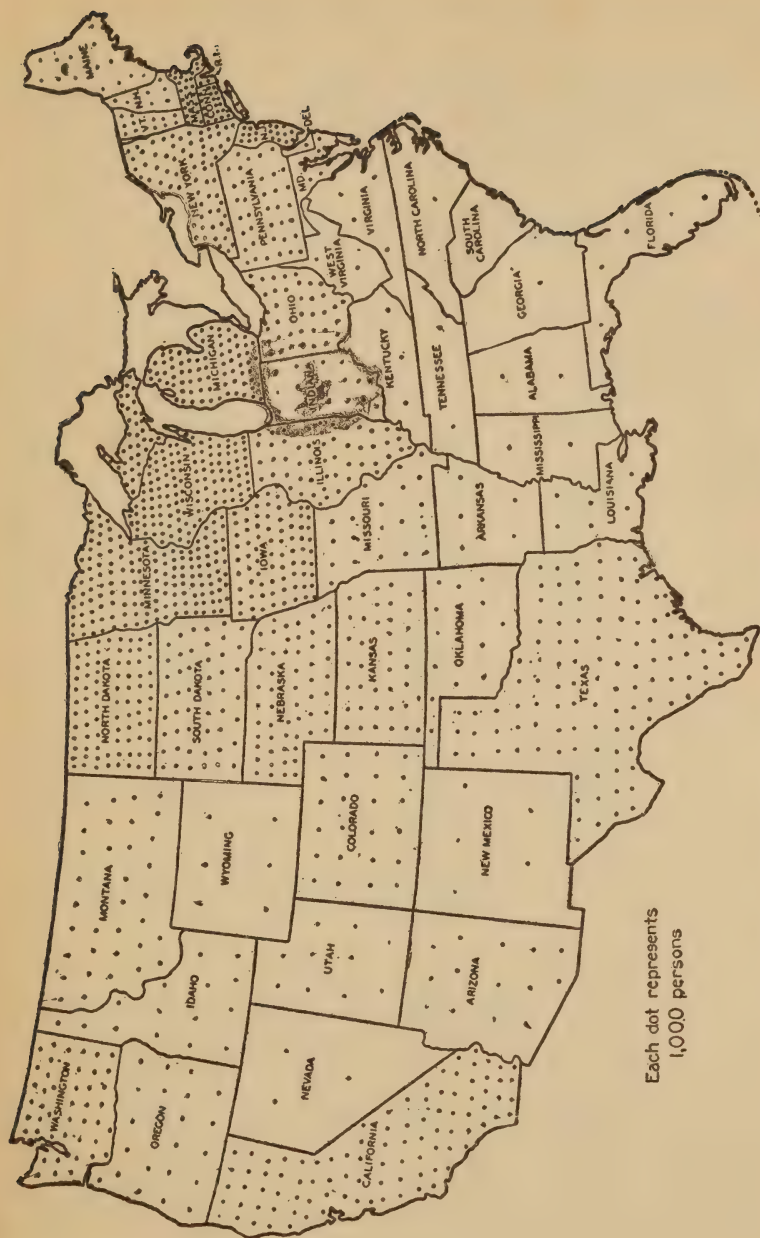
LOCATION OF FOREIGN-BORN FARM GROUP

Speaking in general terms it may be said that, except for a few states like California and Texas, the bulk of the foreign-born farmers are settled in the Middle West. The actual number of persons of foreign birth in the farm population of each state varies greatly. South Carolina, with 356, has fewest, and Minnesota, with 155,846, has most. The four states next in order after Minnesota are: Wisconsin, 129,728; Texas, 114,507; Michigan, 112,358; and California, 94,910. Over 41 per cent. of all the foreign-born farm population of the country is to be found in these five states.

The high degree to which the various nationality groups of foreign-born farmers are segregated within regions is shown by Tables I and II, especially the latter, which gives the distribution of important racial groups among the various Census regions. The Norse and Swedes, for instance, two of the three

²It is not possible to tell from the Census the country of birth for the total foreign-born farm population; but the data as to the country of birth of farm operators, to be presented, offer a reasonably satisfactory basis for judging the origin of the entire foreign farm group.

³Since the farm operators comprise approximately 40 per cent. of the foreign-born farm population, the total number from each country within this group may be roughly estimated by multiplying the number of farm operators by two and a half.



Each dot represents
1,000 persons

MAP I—The Foreign-born Farm Population of Each State in 1920.

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leading groups in the Middle West, are not an important element in New England, nor are the Germans, the largest foreign group of all on a national basis. The Italians show greater diffusion throughout the country than any other nationality.

TABLE I. STATES SHOWING THE GREATEST CONCENTRATION OF CERTAIN FOREIGN-BORN FARM OPERATORS, BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH, 1920*

<i>Country of Birth</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Country of Birth</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Number</i>
Germany.	Wisconsin	18,032	Sweden.	Minnesota	16,934
	Minnesota	14,731		Wisconsin	4,838
	Iowa	12,730		Nebraska	3,578
	Michigan	9,746		N. Dakota	3,377
	Illinois	9,725		Illinois	3,285
Canada.	Michigan	13,393	Norway.	Minnesota	14,925
	New York	3,188		N. Dakota	10,900
	N. Dakota	3,125		Wisconsin	8,652
	Maine	3,088		S. Dakota	4,025
	Vermont	2,663		Iowa	3,094
Italy.	California	4,453	Denmark.	Iowa	3,273
	New York	1,782		Minnesota	3,126
	New Jersey	1,745		Nebraska	2,487
	Louisiana	1,336		Wisconsin	2,462
	Colorado	967		California	1,917
Mexico.	Texas	10,877	Russia.	N. Dakota	8,590
	New Mexico	404		S. Dakota	2,977
	Arizona	280		Kansas	2,639
	California	273		Colorado	1,670
	Oklahoma	59		Michigan	1,538

*Data from the *Fourteenth Census*, 1920, Vol. V, pp. 318-321.

TABLE II. COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF FOREIGN-BORN FARMERS, BY DIVISIONS, 1920*

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	UNITED STATES	DIVISION					
		<i>New England</i>	<i>Middle Atlantic</i>	<i>South Atlantic and East South Central</i>	<i>West South Central</i>	<i>East and West North Central</i>	<i>Mountain and Pacific</i>
Total.	581,068	28,265	46,910	10,879	39,937	350,998	104,079
Great Britain. .	36,691	2,429	5,242	1,571	1,499	14,930	11,020
Ireland.	16,562	1,924	3,522	519	399	6,863	3,335
Norway.	51,599	178	354	151	312	43,591	7,013
Sweden.	60,461	1,784	2,095	530	1,123	44,108	10,821
Denmark.	25,565	383	689	241	578	17,070	6,604

*Data drawn from the *Fourteenth Census*, 1920, Vol. V, p. 318.

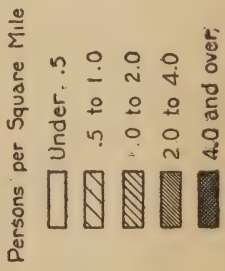
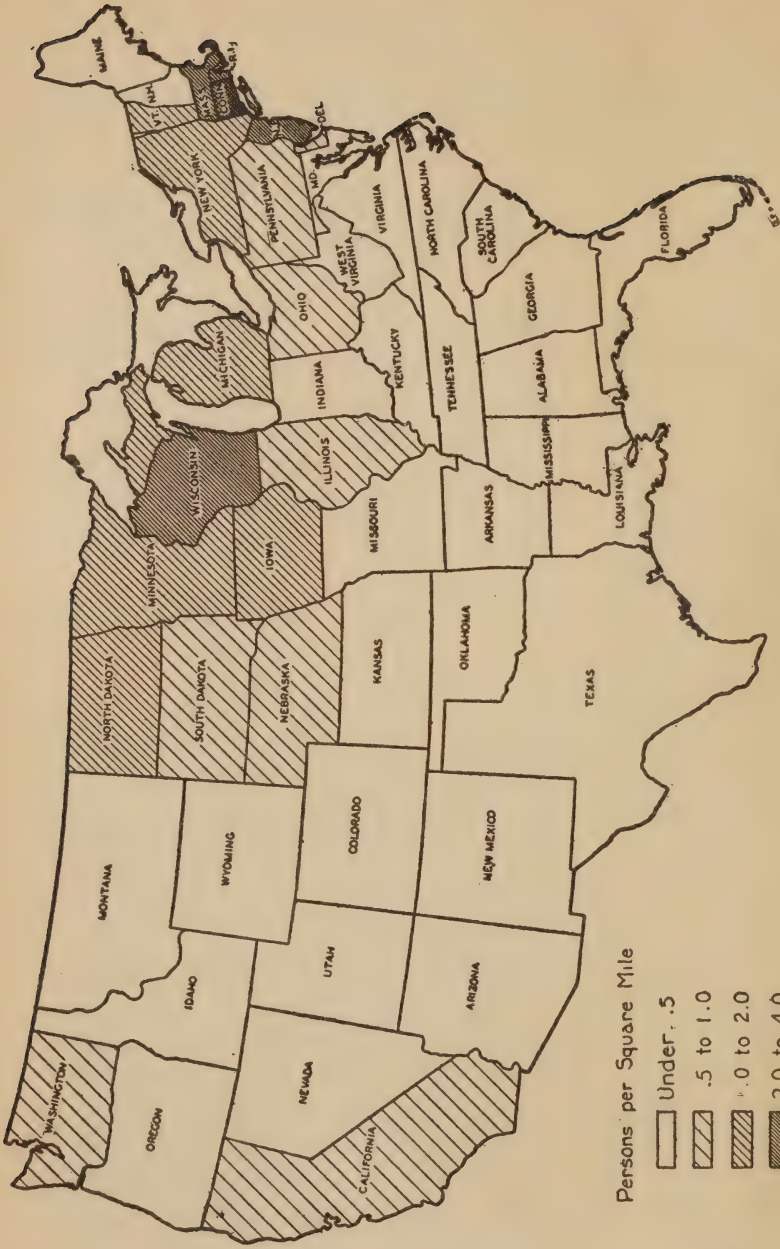
TABLE II. COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF FOREIGN-BORN FARMERS, BY DIVISIONS, 1920 (*continued*)

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	UNITED STATES	DIVISION					
		<i>New England</i>	<i>Middle Atlantic</i>	<i>South Atlantic and East South Central</i>	<i>West South Central</i>	<i>East and West North Central</i>	<i>Mountain and Pacific</i>
Netherlands....	15,589	98	1,320	202	171	11,901	1,897
Switzerland....	13,051	206	811	492	713	6,194	4,635
France.....	6,119	313	806	228	609	2,382	1,781
Germany.....	140,667	1,840	10,456	2,972	10,348	100,493	14,558
Poland.....	17,352	1,502	2,955	266	909	10,645	1,075
Austria.....	30,172	1,157	4,392	835	4,146	15,867	3,775
Hungary.....	7,122	312	1,507	343	274	4,101	585
Russia.....	32,388	1,812	2,638	288	1,661	19,811	6,178
Finland.....	14,988	957	272	68	34	11,167	2,490
Italy.....	18,267	1,670	4,479	726	2,497	1,996	6,899
Portugal.....	4,254	458	8	4	15	208	3,561
Other Europe..	21,646	653	1,520	401	2,588	12,999	3,485
Mexico.....	12,142	2	5	5	10,977	83	1,070
Canada.....	48,668	9,884	3,527	788	565	24,660	9,244
Other Countries	7,765	703	312	249	519	1,929	4,053

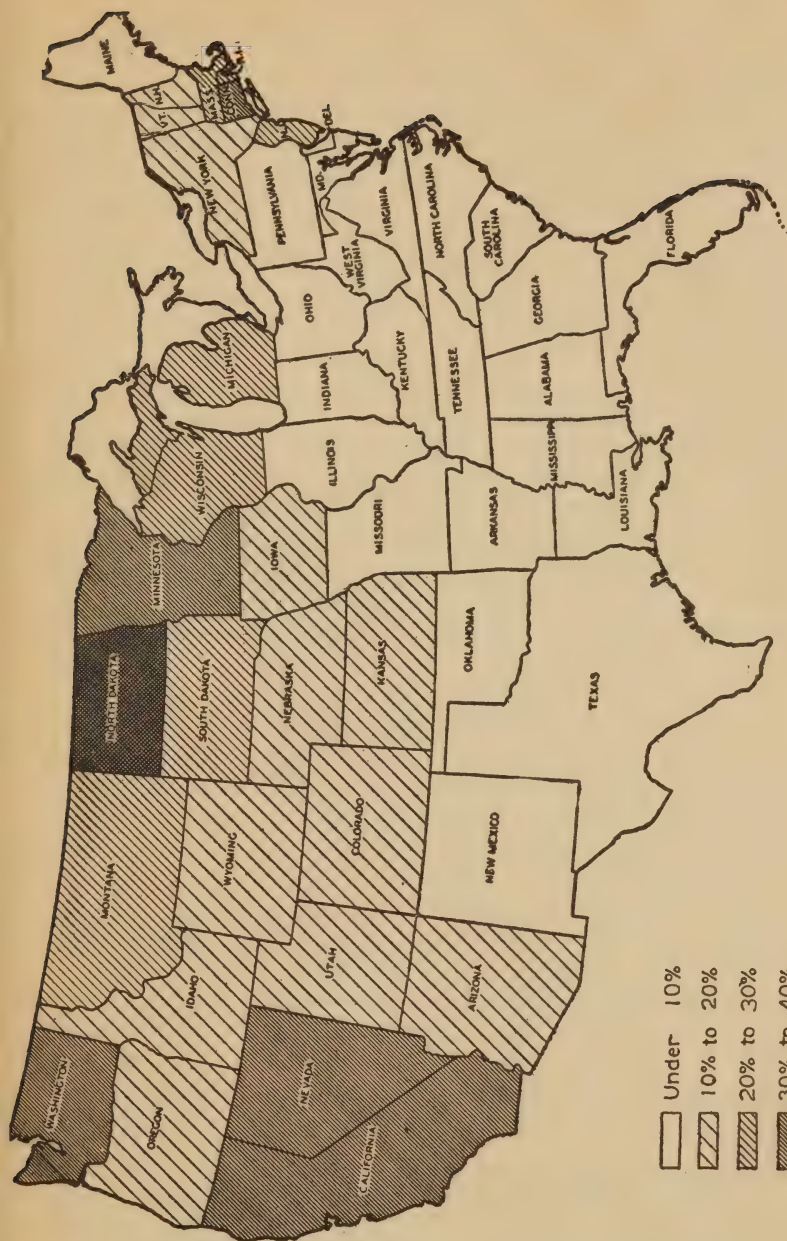
DENSITY OF FOREIGN-BORN FARM POPULATION

The actual number of a foreign-born group in a given state does not shed much light on its relative importance; because large states may possibly have a more numerous, even though relatively less important, foreign-born farm population than small ones. For this reason the density of the foreign-born farm population in each state was computed by dividing this population by the area of the state, the result representing the number of foreign-born farm inhabitants per square mile. Map II shows the density of foreign farm population by states.

The five states showing the greatest concentration of farm immigrants, measured by the number per square mile, are: Connecticut with a density of 4.02, Massachusetts with 2.77, New Jersey with 2.58, Wisconsin with 2.35, and Rhode Island with 2.04. Minnesota, which ranked first in the actual number of farm immigrants, is seventh in density, with 1.93 farm immigrants per square mile. Only one of the states, Wisconsin, ranking among the first five in actual number is found also among the five showing the greatest concentration of farm immigrants.



MAP II—Density of Foreign-born Population in 1920.



MAP III—Per cent. of All White Farm Operators Who Are Foreign-born.

RATIO FOREIGN-BORN TO ALL FARMERS

But just as numbers alone are an insufficient guide to the importance of a foreign-born group in the general population, so the test of density, though helpful, is inadequate by itself because the density of the total farm population varies from place to place with differences in the type of farming pursued. An additional indication of the importance of the foreign element in the farm population has, therefore, been sought in the relation of the foreign operators to the total farm operators.

Map III illustrates the results of this computation, the actual figures for which are to be found in Appendix Table 3. The foreign-born constitute a larger proportion of the farm operators in North Dakota, 47.0 per cent., than in any other state. In the Carolinas, on the other hand, they make up less than one fourth of one per cent. of the total farm-operator group. The next four states leading in foreign-born farm operators, judged by this standard, are: Minnesota, 37.8 per cent., Connecticut, 33.8 per cent., California, 30.7 per cent., and Washington, 30.4 per cent. Connecticut has already been noted among the five states showing the highest density of immigrant farm population in terms of persons to a square mile. Minnesota and California appear among the states reporting the largest actual numbers of foreign-born in the farm population. Wisconsin, Massachusetts, South Dakota, and Montana follow in close succession, with the foreign-born making up from 27.5 to 28.6 per cent. of the total of all farm operators.⁴

It is evident, therefore, that by all the three tests applied—numbers, density, and ratio of foreign-born farmers to all farmers within a state—the Northern states of the Middle West formed the largest centre of the immigrant farm population in 1920. The Middle Atlantic and New England states formed a second important group, and two isolated states, California and Texas, had large foreign-born groups in their farming areas. It is in these areas that the farmers of other lands make their

⁴Complete data for all states on this point will be found in Appendix Table 3. If, instead of the per cent. of foreign to all farm operators, the computation were based upon the ratio of foreign-born farm population to the total farm population, four of the five states just named would again appear in the list, but Massachusetts would displace Washington. Massachusetts is also one of the leading states in density of foreign-born farm population per square mile.

most important contributions to American agriculture, though no longer, as in 1910, do the foreign- exceed the native-born operators in a single state. These are the states that would appear to offer the most fruitful field for undertaking a study of immigrant farmers and their children.⁵

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SECOND GENERATION

It is in the so-called second generation—the American-born children of foreign parents—that one expects to find the link between the old culture and the new. At any rate, if the link is not here then it is missing, since with the third generation the Census disclaims official knowledge of foreign ancestry. Where, then, are the native-born farmers of foreign parentage to be found? Do they consort with their countrymen of the first generation? Or are they more widely distributed throughout the country, in token, perhaps, of an expanding Americanism? The answers to these questions are likely to have an important bearing on other topics to be discussed later, notably the inter-marriage of immigrant farmers with their own and with native stock.

In the main it is apparent from the Census records that while these native-born farmers of foreign stock are to be found in largest numbers in the same regions and states in which the immigrant farmers have been shown to be located, nevertheless this group tends to be scattered more widely over the country than the immigrants themselves.⁶ To make it possible to compare the distribution of the first generation of immigrants in this country with that of the second generation, a series of index numbers has been computed showing the ratio of persons of foreign or mixed parentage to persons of foreign birth in the farm population. Table III gives these data for the Census regions. Figures for each state are to be found in Appendix Table 4.

In the United States as a whole there were, in 1920, more

⁵Field survey work in this study was largely restricted to states lying within the major regions mentioned.

⁶These facts for the foreign *farm* population of the second generation do not support the conclusion about the *total* population of foreign parentage advanced by Dr. Carpenter in *Immigrants and Their Children*, p. 19: "The third deduction to be derived from this set of data is the relative inertia of the second generation of the foreign stock, as shown by the close correspondence in the various regions between the proportion of foreign-born white and of native white of foreign parents in the total population."

TABLE III. NATIVITY OF FARM POPULATION, BY DIVISIONS, 1920*

Division	Total Farm Population (a)	NATIVE WHITE		Foreign- born White (d)	Colored (e)	Ratio of (d) to (a) (d) to (c)	
		Native Parentage (b)	Foreign or Mixed Parentage (c)			%	%
United States.....	31,614,269	21,045,836	3,796,778	1,471,040	5,300,615	4.7	38.7
New England.....	625,877	417,747	128,431	77,844	1,855	12.4	60.6
Middle Atlantic.....	1,892,789	1,469,287	280,895	127,563	15,044	6.7	45.4
East North Central.....	4,913,633	3,457,822	1,077,971	350,512	27,328	7.1	32.5
West North Central.....	5,171,596	3,161,917	1,482,755	479,917	47,007	9.3	32.4
South Atlantic.....	6,416,698	4,008,035	40,403	18,405	2,349,855	.3	45.6
East South Central.....	5,182,937	3,629,842	28,332	8,399	1,516,364	.2	19.6
West South Central.....	5,228,199	3,586,617	272,194	138,621	1,230,767	2.7	50.9
Mountain.....	1,168,367	767,688	236,014	109,688	54,977	9.4	46.5
Pacific.....	1,014,173	546,881	249,783	160,091	57,418	15.8	64.1

*Data from the *Fourteenth Census*, 1920, Vol. V, pp. 896-897.

than two and a half persons of foreign parentage to every one of foreign birth. Only three of the Census regions exceed the national average, the East and West North Central and the East South Central states. The last-named region has three and one third foreign-stock persons of native birth for every person of foreign birth. This region contains Kentucky, with the highest ratio, 5 to 1. Indiana follows with a ratio of 4.73 to 1. Indeed all the Eastern and the West North Central states, except Michigan and North Dakota, exceed the national average in this particular. The lowest ratio was found to exist in Arizona, where there are only 72.5 native-born persons of foreign parentage for every 100 immigrants among the farm population. This indicates the recency of immigration, principally Mexican, into that state. The Kentucky figure and the figures for several other Southern states, such as Tennessee and Arkansas, are probably due to the relatively small number of immigrants these states have attracted to their land, a fact that will be discussed later. In this connection, it is interesting to note that of the gainfully employed native-born foreign-stock males 10 years of age and over the proportion engaged in agriculture, 16.5 per cent., is greater than the proportion of the foreign-born themselves so engaged, 12.0 per cent.

COMPOSITION AND CHARACTERISTICS

Having discovered in general where these million and a half immigrant farmers came from and where they have settled, the question that logically presents itself next is, what sort of people are they? In a sense that is the subject of this whole inquiry. But before coming to the more specific traits of the foreign-born farmer—whether he farms well or ill; whether his children are bright or dull; whom he marries; what clubs he goes to; and what churches he attends—there are certain bald facts on age and sex, increase and decrease, and the like that are discoverable from the Census,⁷ and certain comparisons of importance to be made between Census returns for 1910 and for 1920—that is, in general, between the pre-war and the post-war periods. From the Census, also, and from certain other

⁷It must be remembered that the Census data here used were gathered before the present immigration laws of the United States became operative. So far as possible, therefore, only those aspects of the situation are discussed which are not likely to be greatly affected by the operation of the quota law.

sources, comes what information there is, meagre at the best, on the extent to which the foreign-born farmer becomes a citizen.

THE AGE OF FOREIGN-BORN FARMERS

The most striking piece of information that one gets from the Census returns is the dearth of young children in this foreign-born farm population. Whereas in the corresponding native group one finds four children under fifteen years of age for every ten older persons, among the immigrant farmers there are only four children for every hundred older persons. That is, the immigrant farming population is predominantly an adult group. That it should be so is not surprising. The same phenomenon is found both in the total rural immigrant group and among the foreign-born in cities. In the former group the percentage of children under fifteen years of age is only a little higher than for the foreign farming population alone, 4.6 as against 4.2 per cent. For the foreign-born in cities the percentage is just about the same (3.9), this figure being for children fourteen years of age or less. The corresponding figures for the native stock are 31.2 per cent. (urban) and 38.5 per cent. (rural).

The explanation of these differences between foreign-born and native stock is doubtless that many immigrants do not essay the adventure of reëstablishing family life in America while they have very small children but try to win economic independence before sending for their families. The quota law has in many cases prolonged this separation of families. Nevertheless, the differences are important wherever considerations of age enter into a comparison of native with foreign-born, for they mean that the younger children of immigrants are more likely than not to be native-born and hence ignorant of and out of sympathy with much of the experience and many of the customs of their parents.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS

While this preponderance of adults and older children among the foreign-born holds fairly constant among the various regions, marked variations appear in a few individual states, chiefly those that have received a large part of the non-quota immigration from the near-by countries of Canada and Mexico. Thus, in Vermont, which is known to have received many French

Canadians, 15.4 per cent. of the foreign-born farm population was, in 1920, made up of children under fifteen years of age. The corresponding figure for New England was 5.5 per cent. Similarly in the border states, New Mexico and Arizona, 17.8 per cent. of the foreign-born farm population are children, against 7.8 per cent. for the whole Mountain division in which these states lie. The West South Central division, again, which has also received many Mexicans, has a rather high proportion of foreign-born under fifteen years of age, namely, 12.9 per cent.

The dearth of young children in the foreign-born group has its natural corollary at the other end of the age-scale in a high proportion of older people, as is shown by comparing the proportions of immigrant and of native-stock farmers over sixty-five years of age. This comparison will be confined to the East and West North Central Census divisions, which, as has been shown, have a relatively large number of immigrant farmers.

In the first of these divisions there are nearly five times as many people over sixty-five years of age in the foreign-born farm population as are found among the corresponding native stock—21.3 per cent. as compared with 4.6 per cent. In the second division, the West North Central, the two figures are 16.5 per cent. and 3.2 per cent. When the farm population is divided into two age-groups, 25 to 44 years inclusive and 45 years and over, it is found that 60 per cent. of the foreign-born are in the latter group but only 43.6 per cent. of those of native parentage.⁸ A fair conclusion from these comparisons is that the young children in immigrant communities are mainly native-born and hence grow up unacquainted with the environment that their parents had known.

The only exceptions to the general condition described above are found in the Eastern states. Connecticut, especially, has had quite an influx of foreign-born farmers from the large cities and in some areas these immigrants from the cities average younger than native-born farmers by as much as ten years.⁹ The general

⁸The percentages used in the foregoing analysis have been derived from Volume II, *Fourteenth Census of the United States*, Table 18, and from Truesdell, *Farm Population of the United States*, Tables 85 and 86, pp. 264-298.

⁹Cf. *A Description of Connecticut Agriculture*, by I. G. Davis and C. I. Hendrickson, Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 127, March, 1925, and *Soil Types as a Factor in Farm Economy*, p. 70, issued by the same.

tendency is one of a number of indications that the foreign-born are likely to become a slowly diminishing group in rural America, at least in certain areas, if the present immigration policy of the United States is continued. This supposition, however, will be discussed later at greater length.

PREPONDERANCE OF MALES

According to the ratio of males to females in the foreign farm population, if marriage were restricted to their own group one man in every four would be condemned to lonely bachelorhood—a situation that, as will be seen later, has considerable bearing on the question of intermarriage. For every 100 females in the foreign-born farm population there are 136 males—a much greater excess than appears in the 100 to 108.5 ratio for the native farm population, and greater also than the similar ratio for urban immigrants. Table IV tells the story.

TABLE IV. NUMBER OF MALES PER 100 FEMALES IN FARM AND URBAN POPULATION, BY NATIVITY AND BY REGIONS*

REGION	FOREIGN-BORN		NATIVE-BORN			
	Farm	Urban	FOREIGN PARENTAGE		NATIVE PARENTAGE	
			Farm	Urban	Farm	Urban
United States.	136.0	115.9	117.1	94.9	108.5	98.5
The North†.	130.9	114.1	117.6	95.0	109.5	98.3
The South.	131.8	123.8	111.2	93.0	106.7	97.9
The West.	161.0	131.0	118.2	95.3	117.2	101.3

*Table derived from Truesdell, *Farm Population of the United States*, Tables 36 and 84.

†The divisions used are Truesdell's. The North includes the New England, Middle Atlantic, East and West North Central Census divisions; the South, the South Atlantic, East and West South Central; and the West, the Pacific, and Mountain divisions.

The reason for this preponderance of males over females among both rural and urban foreign-born is evident. Year by year, since 1820, males have furnished more than half the total number of immigrants, except in 1922. From 1900 to 1910, inclusive, the number of incoming males was double or slightly more than double the number of incoming females in each year. Since that time, and especially since 1914, the proportion has usually been slightly less than three fifths of the total immigration.¹⁰

¹⁰Cf. Jerome, *Migration and Business Cycles* (National Bureau of Economic Research, New York, 1926), pp. 38, 39.

CITIZENSHIP

When it comes to the question of naturalization, the data afforded by the Census are unfortunately very meagre,¹¹ and what information there is concerns the rural immigrant group as a whole,¹² not the foreign-born farm group by itself. On this basis, however, it is possible to make some comparisons between the readiness of rural and of urban immigrants to become American citizens.¹³ At first glance the Census figures seem to show a decided tendency for immigrants in rural areas to become citizens to a far greater degree than those living in urban communities. In the cities, 46.8 per cent. of the males and 50 per cent. of the females twenty-one years of age and over are naturalized. In the rural communities the comparable proportions are 50.9 per cent. for the males and 58.6 per cent. for the females. On the other hand, while the urban immigrants who have only taken out their first papers form 10 per cent. of the urban immigrant group, the comparable rural figure is only 7.8 per cent.¹⁴ These differences hold for all age- and sex-groups tabulated by the Census.¹⁵

In an effort to study more closely the situation in the foreign-born farm population alone, 300 all-rural counties with a large number of foreign-born, located in eleven states and four Census

¹¹Cf. Carpenter, *Immigrants and Their Children* (Government Printing Office, 1926), p. 266: "The material relating to the citizenship of the immigrant is so scanty and so incompletely classified that it is possible to do little more than to record certain broad facts and leave their interpretation to wait upon more ample data."

¹²See p. 3.

¹³It had been hoped that additional data could be obtained to overcome this lack of a special tabulation made of unpublished Census material for selected rural counties. Special tabulations had been made for the Institute by the Census Bureau in a previous study. Cf. *A Census Analysis of American Villages*. The 1920 Census cards had been destroyed by the time of this study and the expense of taking the material from the original sheets was prohibitive. An attempt was made to compensate for this lack of data by securing access to the records of the naturalization courts. This effort also proved futile. It involved field work to a degree impossible within the financial and time limits of this study.

¹⁴In considering the problem of naturalization it should be recalled that no immigrants, except those who have served in the armed forces of the United States, can be admitted to citizenship until they have resided continuously in the United States for five years, and within one state or territory for one year. At least two years must also elapse after their first papers have been taken and before naturalization can be accomplished, although the declaration of an intention to become a citizen, which is what "first papers" really are, may be made by any eligible resident alien eighteen years of age or over, at any time after arrival in this country.

¹⁵Cf. Carpenter, *Immigrants and Their Children* (Government Printing Office, 1926), Table 117, p. 258.

regions, were selected. The total number of foreign-born in these counties was over 600,000. The citizenship status of those immigrants was then compared with that of the foreign-born in thirty cities in the same states. As with the national figures, the rural foreign-born in these selected counties, as well as in the country as a whole, have a higher proportion of citizens than do the foreign-born in the selected cities; the difference being even greater than that revealed by the national figures. This computation also shows that the proportion naturalized is very much higher in the Middle West, and even on the Pacific Coast, than in the Middle Atlantic States.

TABLE V. PER CENT. FOREIGN-BORN WHITE NATURALIZED IN SELECTED RURAL COUNTIES AND IN CITIES, BY DIVISIONS, 1920*

DIVISION	RURAL COUNTIES			CITIES		
	<i>Both Sexes</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Both Sexes</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Total.....	64.7	62.7	67.4	48.4	48.3	48.5
Middle Atlantic.....	54.2	51.7	57.2	43.9	44.7	43.2
East North Central....	74.6	72.9	76.8	54.8	53.4	56.5
West North Central....	66.0	64.7	67.7	60.9	58.6	63.7
Pacific.....	60.7	55.9	71.7	51.6	49.6	54.5

*Data from the *Fourteenth Census*, 1920, Vol. III.

A comparison of the degree of naturalization in the three hundred counties and thirty cities for the ten-year period, 1910-1920 (see Table VI), not only shows that the situation depicted in Table V, for the year 1920, existed also before the World War, but reveals that both city and country made gains during the period in the proportion of naturalized citizens in the foreign-born group.¹⁶

A plausible explanation of the evident tendency of these figures would be that in the cities the foreign-born are more generally segregated in colonies under conditions that keep them in contact with people who speak their own language, and that they are, therefore, more out of touch with American institutions. Whether they read newspapers, worship in churches, attend social organizations, or buy goods in stores, they need use only the speech of their native land. In the country, on the other hand, except in some of the colonies that have been developed on a one-nationality basis, the various mer-

¹⁶This comparison was limited to males because of the regulations affecting the citizenship status of women.

chants, the manager of the creamery or of the coöperative, the station agent, and others with whom the foreign-born farmer must have dealings, are more likely than not to be native-born. The immigrant farmer, on this account, probably comes into more frequent contact with those who do not understand his language than does his urban brother, and these wider contacts may induce a desire to acquire citizenship.

Against the acceptance of such a theory as a complete explanation, however, is the fact that the figures given in Table V

TABLE VI. CITIZENSHIP OF FOREIGN-BORN MALES 21 AND OVER IN SELECTED RURAL COUNTIES AND IN CITIES, 1910 AND 1920

CITIZENSHIP	1920		1910	
	NUMBER	PER CENT.	NUMBER	PER CENT.
<i>In Cities</i>				
Total.....	1,803,437	100.0	1,637,936	100.0
Naturalized.....	870,421	48.3	723,187	44.2
First Papers.....	336,812	18.7	182,443	11.4
Alien.....	522,081	28.9	580,135	35.1
Not Known.....	74,123	4.1	152,171	9.3
<i>In Rural Counties</i>				
Total.....	266,428	100.0	320,672	100.0
Naturalized.....	167,147	62.7	180,862	56.4
First Papers.....	31,352	11.8	24,897	7.8
Alien.....	48,907	18.3	64,633	20.1
Not Known.....	19,022	7.2	50,280	15.7

suggest strongly a relationship between naturalization and length of residence in the United States.

The Middle Atlantic Census region shows a smaller proportion of rural foreign-born naturalized than any other region. In this area also the foreign-born farmers are considerably younger than elsewhere, and in some places are even younger than the native-born, which would indicate that they have been in this country a relatively short time. The smaller proportion of naturalized in this area, therefore, suggests that the factor of length of residence has an important bearing on the problem.

The simplest way to test this assumption would be to discover the citizenship status of rural immigrants by year of entry. Unfortunately, this is one of the many important points connected with the subject of naturalization upon which the Census fails to publish the data it has collected. The Census does, however, show in two ways that the rural immigrant has on the

average been longer in the United States than the urban: first, of the urban aliens, 52 per cent. entered the United States after 1900, while only 40 per cent. of the rural immigrants arrived in the present century; and secondly, of those immigrants known to have arrived after 1900 who are still here, four fifths are living in the city and one fifth in the rural districts. This factor of length of residence would go a long way toward explaining the higher proportion of naturalized among rural immigrants. There are a number of indications also that in a few states, especially in recent years, the journey of the immigrant to the land was completed only after an urban stop-over. It is possible, therefore, that some of the foreign-born farmers took out their first papers while in the city but completed the naturalization process after moving to the country. There is no way of determining the importance of this factor; but its presence is not to be doubted, and to the extent that it is present it helps to explain not only the higher proportion of naturalized among rural, as compared with urban, immigrants but also the reverse tendency in regard to the taking out of first papers.

Inconclusive as the data are for any final explanation, they demonstrate at least that it is unsafe to assume that the superiority of the country over the city in the proportion of immigrants who have become citizens is due to environmental factors. Nor are the data available sufficient to warrant an explanation of the differences on a racial basis. It is possible to discover the proportion of naturalized citizens of any racial group, and the Census shows that the North European nationalities rank high in citizenship as compared with those of southern and south-eastern Europe. But there is no means of knowing whether this phenomenon is caused by race, age, length of residence, or some other factor. All that can be stated for certain, on the basis of existing data, is that rural America contains proportionately more naturalized citizens than urban America, a fact of considerable importance for the church and social agencies in the determination of programs.¹⁷

¹⁷In view of the great public interest in immigration and its control, it may be not amiss to emphasize the fact that the desired data have been gathered by the Census but are not available because not tabulated. It would be possible, for instance, for the Census to compute the nationality of the naturalized citizens by year of entry and residence as between city and country and thus make available data that would remove much of the uncertainty that perforce exists in considering this subject. It is to be hoped that the 1930 Census may contain some such tabulation; or that, lacking it, some

ARE FOREIGN-BORN FARMERS INCREASING IN NUMBER?

The foreign-born farm population has thus far been shown to be predominately European and adult, to be firmly entrenched in certain well-defined areas in the United States, and to have embraced American citizenship in considerable numbers. It remains to be determined whether the immigrant farm population is an increasing or a decreasing part of the total farm group. The facts on this point can be set forth only on the basis of present information, none of which includes the years of the operation of the quota law. The final answer cannot be given until the results of the 1930 Census are analyzed. In the meantime there are certain important considerations that throw light on the question raised.

THE TALE OF THE NUMBERS

In 1920 there were 581,068 foreign-born out of the total of 5,498,454 white farm operators—a proportion of approximately one foreign to every ten native white farmers. Ten years earlier the proportion had been one foreigner to every eight natives; and the actual numbers of the foreign-born farmers had been 669,556. The foreign-born farmers, therefore, decreased 13 per cent. in numbers in the decade 1910–1920, and just under 2 per cent. in the proportion they bore to the total of white farm operators. In the same period the native white and Negro farm operators increased in number by 3 per cent. Thus the loss recorded in the grand total of farm operators between 1910 and 1920 came solely from the decline in the numbers of the foreign-born.

PROPORTIONATE COMPARISONS

In examining data such as these, it must be remembered that comparisons between native- and foreign-born can be made only on the basis of proportions. Absolute numbers are misleading, for, while the number of incoming aliens may be reduced by war or a quota law, the native population continues its normal increase. An immigrant group, enumerated as native after

private agency may be allowed to undertake a study on the basis of the data gathered by the Census. If done at a time when the Census cards were still accessible the cost would be very slight.

the second generation, can maintain its relative size, therefore, only by continued immigration. Hence, under the contingencies noted, the percentage of immigrants in the total population is inevitably reduced.

To obviate as far as possible this difficulty in making comparisons between 1910 and 1920, the ratio of immigrant farmers to the total foreign-born population has been used. These ratios, shown in Table VII, indicate that in 1910 fifty out of every thousand persons of foreign birth were farm operators. By 1920, however, this proportion had dropped to forty-two in every

TABLE VII. RATIO OF FARM OPERATORS TO TOTAL POPULATION, BY NATIVITY, 1910 AND 1920*

Nativity	1920			1910		
	Total Population	Farm Operators	Farm Operators per 1,000 Population	Total Population	Farm Operators	Farm Operators per 1,000 Population
United States Native Population.	91,789,928	6,448,343	70	78,456,380	6,361,502	81
United States Foreign-born Population. . . .	13,920,692	581,068	42	13,515,886	669,556	50
Northwestern Europe. .	5,516,202	366,304	66	6,550,304	498,863	76
All Other Europe. . . .	6,365,851	146,189	23	5,241,537	98,482	19
Canada and Newfoundland.	1,138,174	48,668	43	1,209,717	61,878	51
Mexico.	486,418	12,142	25	221,915	—	—
All Other.	414,047	7,765	19	292,413	10,333	35

*Data from the *Fourteenth Census*, Vol. II, p. 694, and Vol. V, pp. 132 and 318.

thousand, a decrease of 16 per cent. of the 1910 ratio. Among the native population, during the same time, the ratio of farmers to every thousand persons dropped from eighty-one to seventy, a decrease of almost 14 per cent. of the 1910 ratio. The foreign-born population, therefore, has shown itself to be but little more prone to leave the farm than the native. Farm operators are growing scarcer in proportion to population in both groups, but this tendency, up to 1920 at least, is almost as strong in the native as in the foreign group. There is no reason for believing that throughout the country as a whole the foreign-born popu-

lation is outdoing the native in the shift from country to village and city.¹⁸

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF OLD AND NEW IMMIGRATION

The data given in Table VII also indicate that as between the so-called "older" immigration, from northwestern Europe, and the "newer," from southern and southeastern Europe, a larger proportion of the former immigrants have gone to the land. Thus, out of every 1,000 immigrants born in northwestern Europe, sixty-six were farm operators in 1920. For all other European countries the ratio was only twenty-three per thousand, while among the total native-born population the farm operators constitute seventy in every 1,000. The northwestern countries of Europe thus show a proportion of farm operators only slightly lower than the native-born and almost three times as high as the other European stock.

NUMBER OF OLD WORLD FARMERS

When the previous occupation of the incoming farm population is taken into account, however, a partial explanation is found of the tendency of those of the "newer" immigration not to become farmers.¹⁹ Contrary to the usual assumption, it appears that before the war, namely in the fiscal year 1914, only seven in every 1,000 immigrants from southern, central, and eastern European countries reported that they had previously been farm operators, compared with thirty-nine in every 1,000 persons of the older immigration stock. These facts are detailed in Table VIII. If these figures are correct, the ratio of farm operators among the newer immigrants in 1920 is remarkably high, since these immigrants are handicapped by more limited experience as farmers than are those who have come from northern European countries.

The decline in the number of foreign-born farmers between 1910 and 1920, already noted, has not been uniform. The northwestern European and Canadian stock have undergone a

¹⁸Unfortunately it is not possible to follow this comparison beyond 1910 because that is the first time information on the nativity of the farm operator was secured by the Census.

¹⁹Agricultural conditions may differ in the various foreign countries so that the distinction between farm operators, the group under discussion, and the farm laborers may not be uniform.

24 IMMIGRANT FARMERS AND THEIR CHILDREN

TABLE VIII. RATIO OF FARMERS TO TOTAL IMMIGRANTS FROM SPECIFIED COUNTRIES, 1914 AND 1925*

Country of† Last Permanent Residence	1925			1914		
	Immigrants Total	Farmers	Farmers per 1,000 Immi- grants	Immigrants Total	Farmers	Farmers per 1,000 Immi- grants
Total.....	294,314	13,875	47	1,218,480	14,442	12
Northwestern Europe	125,098	6,157	49	164,133	6,476	39
All Other Europe. . .	23,268	747	32	898,227	6,709	7
Canada and New- foundland.....	102,753	6,475	63	86,139	—	—
Mexico.....	32,964	365	11	14,614	124	8
All Other.	10,231	131	13	55,367	1,133	20

*Data from the Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, Table 33, 1925, and Table 10 of the 1914 Report.

†The Census figures presented in Table VI show "country of birth," while these immigration figures report "country of last permanent residence."

TABLE IX. INCREASE IN NATIVE AND FOREIGN-BORN WHITE FARM OPERATORS, 1910-1920*

Country of Birth	1920	1910	Per Cent.† Increase
All White.....	5,498,454	5,440,619	1.1
Native White.....	4,817,846	4,763,256	1.1
Northwestern Europe.....	366,304	4 98,863	—26.6
England.....	26,614	39,728	—33.0
Scotland.....	7,605	10,220	—25.6
Wales.....	2,472	4,110	—39.9
Ireland.....	16,562	33,480	—50.5
Norway.....	51,599	59,742	—13.6
Sweden.....	60,461	67,453	—10.4
Denmark.....	25,565	28,375	—9.9
Netherlands.....	15,589	13,790	13.0
Switzerland.....	13,051	14,333	—8.9
France.....	6,119	5,832	4.9
Germany.....	140,667	221,800	—36.6
All Other Europe.....	146,189	98,482	48.4
Poland.....	17,352	7,228	140.1
Austria.....	30,172	33,336	—9.5
Hungary.....	7,122	3,827	86.1
Russia.....	32,388	25,788	25.6
Finland.....	14,988	†	†
Rumania.....	693	†	†
Greece.....	846	†	†
Italy.....	18,267	10,614	72.1
Portugal.....	4,254	†	†
Other European Countries.....	20,107	17,689	13.7
Canada and Newfoundland.....	48,668	61,878	—21.3
Mexico and All Other.....	19,907	10,333	92.7
Country of Birth Not Reported.....	99,540	7,807	1175.0

*Data from the *Fourteenth Census*, 1920, Vol. V, p. 318.

†A minus sign (—) denotes decrease.

‡Not listed separately for 1910.

marked reduction during this period, 26.6 and 21.3 per cent. respectively. Declines and increases for the most important countries are shown in Table IX.

The newer immigration stocks, on the other hand, were coming in rapidly during the first part of this decade and show an increase of 48.4 per cent. over the number of farmers in 1910. The group consisting of all other nationalities almost doubled its number of farmers, an increase of 92.7 per cent. The number of native white farm operators, on the other hand, was practically the same in 1920 as in 1910.

WHERE FOREIGN-BORN FARMERS HAVE INCREASED

The increase or decrease of the foreign-born farm population shows variations by region and state as well as by race. In the ten-year period before the 1920 Census, the proportion of foreign-born persons among farm operators increased in only two geographic divisions, the New England and the Middle Atlantic states. Table X shows that the foreign-born in New

TABLE X. NUMBER OF ALL FARM OPERATORS WHO ARE FOREIGN-BORN WHITE, BY DIVISIONS, 1910 AND 1920*

Division	1920			1910		
	<i>All Farm Operators</i>	<i>Foreign-born White</i> Number	<i>Per Cent.</i>	<i>All Farm Operators</i>	<i>Foreign-born White</i> Number	<i>Per Cent.</i>
United States.	6,448,343	581,068	9.0	6,361,502	669,556	10.5
New England.	156,564	28,265	18.1	188,802	27,451	14.5
Middle Atlantic.	425,147	46,910	11.0	468,379	47,076	10.1
East North Central. . .	1,084,744	144,775	13.3	1,123,489	188,153	16.7
West North Central. . .	1,096,951	206,223	18.8	1,109,948	269,442	24.3
South Atlantic.	1,158,976	73,373	.6	1,111,881	7,141	.6
East South Central. . .	1,051,600	3,506	.3	1,042,480	4,819	.5
West South Central. . .	996,088	39,937	4.0	943,186	41,501	4.4
Mountain.	244,109	40,984	16.8	183,446	31,427	17.1
Pacific.	234,164	63,095	26.9	189,891	52,546	27.7

*Data from the *Fourteenth Census*, Vol. V, pp. 300-302.

England constituted 14.5 per cent. of the farm operators in 1910 and 18.1 per cent. in 1920; for the Middle Atlantic states the percentages are, respectively, 10.1 and 11.0. That is, up to 1920 the foreign-born farmers gained most in states where the total number of farmers was steadily diminishing.

The Census report contains the following explanatory com-

ment on the movement of the foreign farm population (Volume V, p. 294): "Between 1910 and 1920 the proportion of foreign-born white farmers decreased in nearly all states except those of the New England and Middle Atlantic divisions. Most of the foreign-born white farmers in the Central states have been in this country for a considerable time and the decrease in their number by death has not been entirely counterbalanced by new immigration, whereas in several Atlantic Coast states a sufficient number of recent immigrants have started farming during the decade to bring about a net increase in the numbers of foreign-born white farmers."

This explanation is borne out by the figures in Table XI, which show a marked increase between 1910 and 1920 in the percentage of foreign-born forty-five years of age and over. Obviously, a group that is dependent for reënforcement solely upon new accessions through immigration will have an ever-increasing proportion of older persons if immigration is cut off. The almost complete cessation of immigration during the war years not only explains the phenomenon noted in Table XI but suggests the situation that may possibly develop further under the new restrictive policy of the United States.

TABLE XI. PER CENT. OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION OVER 45 YEARS OF AGE, BY DIVISIONS, 1910 AND 1920*

<i>Divisions</i>	<i>Rural</i>		<i>Urban</i>	
	<i>1920</i>	<i>1910</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1910</i>
United States.....	47.3	42.0	37.0	31.2
New England.....	41.0	33.8	36.7	28.6
Middle Atlantic.....	37.9	30.6	34.0	27.5
East North Central.....	56.9	53.4	37.9	34.9
West North Central.....	60.1	49.6	48.8	40.1
South Atlantic.....	33.5	31.2	38.4	35.1
East South Central.....	50.6	51.7	53.7	51.0
West South Central.....	35.9	37.1	31.7	37.7
Mountain.....	35.0	30.3	41.9	33.7
Pacific.....	42.9	37.2	41.4	35.0

*Data from the *Fourteenth Census*, Vol. II, p. 371.

THE FUTURE AND THE QUOTA LAW

Between the taking of the 1920 Census and the passage of the so-called "Quota Law" in May, 1921, approximately one million aliens entered the country. Under increasingly liberal interpretation of the law the number of immigrants increased

from something over 309,000 in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1922, to nearly 707,000 in the fiscal year 1923-1924. The Immigration Act of 1924 still further restricted the flow of incoming aliens and fewer than 295,000 were admitted in the following year, including those from quota and non-quota countries. Despite the restrictive laws it is probable that in the present Census period nearly twice as many immigrants will be admitted as would have entered if immigration had continued at the rate maintained from July 1, 1914, to June 30, 1920, though only half as many as if the average from 1910-1914 inclusive had been maintained. At the present time the number of immigrants admitted annually averages less than one fourth the record number of 1,218,500 that came in the year 1913-1914. On the surface it would appear that all immigrants, farmers as well as others, were likely to be of diminishing importance as compared with the general population.

Before this conclusion is accepted as applicable to the agricultural population, certain conditioning facts must be borne in mind. In the first place, the Immigration Acts of 1921 and 1924 favored the nations that in the past had furnished the United States with the greater portion of her foreign-born farmers; namely, those in northwestern Europe. Secondly, the 1924 act gives preference in the issuance of immigration visés "to a quota immigrant who is skilled in agriculture and his wife and dependent children under sixteen years, if accompanying or following to join him." The term "agriculture" in this act is held to include agronomy, forestry, horticulture, and animal husbandry. Only skilled workers are given such preference, by which is meant one who is doing such work when filing application for visé and who has either done it for the better part of his life or has had special training for such work.

Even before this law went into effect, the number of immigrants who had been farmers was increasing. Thus in the greatest five-year influx ever known, the period from 1910-1914, fewer than 57,000 of the nearly five million aliens admitted had been farmers. In the period from 1920 to 1924 more than 75,000 of the entrants had been farmers. By way of compensation, however, the number of former farm laborers fell off nearly 90 per cent. in the second of these periods as compared with the first.

The preferred position of agriculture was reflected immediately in the immigration statistics. In 1925 the increase in the proportion of farmers and farm laborers rose to 10.1 per cent. of all incoming immigrants as compared with 6.8 per cent. in 1924. The percentage for the year ending June 30, 1926, was only slightly less, 9.3 per cent.²⁰

This increase was especially noticeable among the so-called newer immigrant stocks. In 1924-1925 the proportion of farmers among these people increased almost fourfold, from seven to thirty-two persons per 1,000 admitted. The northwestern Europeans increased about one fourth, from thirty-nine to forty-nine per 1,000. It will be recalled that the 1920 Census showed a considerable increase in the number of south, east, and central Europeans in the farming population. Here, then, are two bits of evidence that indicate the possibility of a certain amount of renewal of the immigrant farmer group both from abroad and from the cities of this country.

WHERE OLD WORLD FARMERS LOCATE

Obviously, not every former agriculturist becomes a farmer upon entering the United States; and there are no records to show what occupation he does enter. However, there are two pieces of evidence that bear slightly upon this point. In the first place, the percentage distribution, according to intended future residence, of immigrants who had been farm laborers shows a much wider distribution than formerly. Thus, in 1914, 88 per cent. of this group intended to settle in the great industrial zone east of Chicago and north of Mason and Dixon's Line. In 1924 the proportion destined for this area, according to the report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, was only 72.3 per cent.; in 1925, 73.8 per cent.; and in 1926, 65 per cent. On the other hand, the proportions for the other sections of the country increased, especially in the West North and South Central, Mountain, and Pacific Coast states. Incoming farmers have always been better distributed than farm laborers.

The quota law will tend toward a wider distribution of immigrants throughout America because it increases the relative strength of Canadians and Mexicans. Thus the entries through

²⁰Data in foregoing compiled from Annual Reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration.

stations on the Canadian border in the fiscal year 1924-1925 and 1925-1926 increased nearly fourfold over 1913-1914 in proportion to the total number of entrants. The increase in the use of the Mexican border stations was proportionately tenfold. In 1913-1914 more than three fourths of all incoming aliens entered through ports in the Middle Atlantic states, while in the last two years the proportion was less than half. This wider distribution brings relatively more immigrants nearer to agriculture. Furthermore, as will be shown in Chapter II, incoming immigrants who have been farmers tend to go to states where there is known to be a considerable number of their own nationality on the land.

Again, it is possible to verify the destination of those immigrants who are met by the representatives of the Home Mission Council. This organization has handled in the neighborhood of 15,000 cases in the last five or six years and reports that in its experience immigrants destined for rural communities go there. Whether or not they become farmers or farm laborers, it is not possible to say.

SUMMARY

It would seem, then, that the foreign-born farm population in the United States is not likely to show any startling decrease in the 1930 Census, though a slight decline is probable. The preferred status given those skilled in agriculture, the increased immigration as compared with the latter half of the last decade, the increasing number of southern Europeans on the land, are all factors that neutralize some of the other influences noted and seem to indicate that the immigrant farmer has a contribution to make to American agriculture for some years to come.

Chapter II

DOES THE FOREIGN-BORN FARMER MAKE GOOD?

To attain anything like an understanding of what the contribution of our rural immigrants to American life really is, and is likely to be, it is necessary to go beyond the illuminating facts of the Census. These have enabled us to see that the immigrants form an important part of our rural population, merely because of their numbers; that the whole country is affected by their presence, because their distribution is virtually country-wide despite their heavy concentration in certain areas; and that their contribution to the land of their adoption is not to be regarded as a matter of passing concern, because they and their children are here to stay.

So the more important phases of this inquiry have to do, not with the sweeping generalizations that have been drawn from the Census, but with the findings of a close-up study of the immigrants themselves, a study especially of the capabilities, characteristics, and reactions of different racial groups as these may be revealed by certain indices.

Are the immigrants successful farmers? What is the educational status of their children? To what extent do they marry outside their own racial groups? What is their status in community life, and in relation to the church? These, in the main, are the questions for which answers were sought in the part of this study that follows.

The present chapter will be concerned with the success or lack of success of immigrant farmers as compared with native farmers. But it seems important, before proceeding to this comparison, to ascertain whether the immigrants are influenced here by conditions that place them at a disadvantage in respect to the location of their farms and the kind of land they till.

One line of inquiry is suggested by certain Census data. As was seen in the last chapter, only one immigrant in every ten in this country lives or works on a farm. The foreign-born have shown a greater tendency toward urbanization than have the

natives. Slightly less than one fourth of the foreign-born live in rural America. Of the native-born of foreign or mixed parentage, 30.8 per cent. are rural; of the people of native stock 58 per cent. It is clearly because of immigration, therefore, that the urban part of our population exceeds the rural. The native stock has held much more closely to the soil. Again, of the rural immigrants, as noted in the first chapter, but 43.8 per cent. are included in the farm population. The comparable figure for persons of foreign parentage is 54.4 per cent.; that of the native stock, 62.1 per cent. These facts are detailed in Table XII. It will also be remembered that the rural element of the foreign-

TABLE XII. DISTRIBUTION OF THE WHITE RURAL, URBAN, AND FARM POPULATION, BY NATIVITY, 1920*

<i>Nativity</i>	<i>Total Number in U. S.</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>		<i>Rural Population on Farms</i>
		<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	
Native Parentage.....	58,421,957	58.0	42.0	62.1
Foreign-born Parentage.....	13,712,754	24.5	75.5	43.8
Foreign or Mixed Parentage.	22,686,204	30.8	69.2	54.4

*Data from the *Fourteenth Census*, Vol. II, p. 79.

born population has been longer in the United States than has the urban element and is older. These considerations suggest that many immigrants may have taken up farming after stop-over experience in urban life.

While most of the immigrants in earlier years came here for the express purpose of founding farming communities¹ and went directly to the land, the farmward movement of the foreign-born from southern and eastern Europe, after their arrival here, has been distinctly slower.

CONDITIONS AFFECTING CHOICE OF LAND

Most of these later immigrants went first to the cities and worked and saved until they had accumulated enough to purchase land. Thus, in one Wisconsin community studied, there were Polish families from New York, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Milwaukee, and one of the Southern cities. In a number of other centres the farmers had come from the coal mines of the Central competitive field. In one area visited, two thirds of the opera-

¹Cf. Brunner, *Churches of Distinction in Town and Country* (New York; Doran, 1923), pp. 135, 136.

tors had reached their farms only after an industrial experience. The flow of foreign-born into the cut-over lands of northern Wisconsin and Michigan has been inversely proportional to the prosperity of the coal industry in the central Middle West, according to the testimony of agricultural leaders in these states. Other southern Europeans have made their first contact with the soil they now till through their experiences as migrant workers either on railroads or highways, or as laborers at harvest time. So, too, the influx of southern Europeans and Slavs to the farms of Connecticut and Massachusetts has largely come from the cities.

HOW FOREIGN-BORN LEARN OF LAND

There are three different ways in which the foreign-born in cities learn of the land they buy. Usually they learn of it through relatives or friends who have recently settled in a farming community and are anxious to have neighbors of their own kind. They write letters or invite their friends to visit them, and then persuade them to buy land. Sometimes, in doing this, they act for real estate firms.

About twelve years ago a Lithuanian baker moved from New York to a general farming section in New Jersey which lay within the metropolitan trucking zone. He bought several hundred acres of land. To-day there are about forty prosperous truck farmers and their families on these acres, each successfully cultivating a small, intensively farmed truck farm. The annual taxes from this group of farms now approximate the original purchase price. This colony was built up on the personal acquaintanceship basis. So, to a considerable extent, was the Czecho-Slovakian colony described in Part II.

The other ways in which persons of foreign birth learn of the farms they buy are through advertisements in foreign-language papers and real estate men. Land companies use this advertising method extensively and also employ agents who in many cases are immigrants.

PITFALLS IN THE PATH TO OWNERSHIP

Unfortunately, immigrants are too often defrauded in land deals. In one of the communities studied, a development company acquired cut-over land for fifty cents an acre and resold

it at a profit of several thousand per cent. The land was poor and many of the foreign-born lost their entire investment. Danger also lurks for the land-seeking foreigners when immigrants already on the land, or their native-born neighbors, seeing new people coming in rapidly, take options on valuable land and resell it to newcomers at much higher prices. Only two states, Wisconsin and California, have state immigration offices that do everything in their power to protect new settlers. The better type of development companies and real estate agents are now, however, attempting to remedy the situation. One story of exceptionally fine relationship between the land company and its foreign-born settlers is given in the case study of Castle Hayne in Part II.²

CHOICE OF LAND

AVOIDANCE OF THE SOUTH

The immigrants' sources of information about available farms are thus shown to be unquestionably limited, even now, and not always reliable; but their choice of land is influenced by still other conditions. They are not attracted to the South. The theory is advanced by Dr. Niles Carpenter in the Census monograph, *Immigrants and Their Children*, that the presence of the Negro keeps the foreigner out of the South.

This theory seems to be correct, not only for the South as a whole but also for its agricultural regions, for a simple ranking of the Southern states according to the number of foreign-born and of Negro farmers shows that the former are not found where the latter are especially concentrated. The same results were obtained when the counties of a single state, Oklahoma, were analyzed.³ This tendency is manifested not only in the South as a whole but also within the narrow limits of county boundaries;

²It would be possible here to insert a considerable study of the experience of the foreign-born in securing land, the procedure of development companies, and possible improvements that might be made in procedure. All this, however, has been fully covered in a previous investigation by the Carnegie Foundation, published under the title, *A Stake in the Land*, by Peter Speck (Harpers, 1921). It is not the intention of the present investigation to duplicate this work but rather to cover phases of the subject not touched on in this earlier survey.

³This observed phenomenon was checked by use of the Spearman rank correlation, selected because it had also been employed by Dr. Carpenter. See *Immigrants and Their Children* (Government Printing Office, 1927), pp. 34, 35, 40-42, and Tables 147, 148. A coefficient of $-.69$ was obtained between the percentage of Negro and foreign-born farmers, showing that the latter tend not to settle where there are Negro farm opera-

while for the United States as a whole no one factor actually determines the presence or absence of immigrant farmers.

The factor that keeps the immigrant away from the South, presumably the competition of the Negro agriculturist, is apparently determinative in spite of conditions there that elsewhere would draw the foreigner. For example, neither the availability of relatively large tracts of tillable land nor the low cost of land in the South have yet been effective in bringing in foreign-born settlers in large numbers.

AVAILABILITY OF LAND

The acreage of land in each state still available for crops in 1923 has been estimated by the Department of Agriculture. It is possible, therefore, to determine whether in the different states there is any correspondence between the size of this area and the number of immigrant settlers who were agriculturists in their own country. The number of such persons so settling during the period from 1920 to 1925 inclusive was used for this purpose. These years were selected because they fall on either side of the year for which the data on available land apply.⁴ When the thirty-six states, exclusive of the South, are ranked for these two items, the acreage of land available for crops in 1923 and number of incoming agriculturists 1920 to 1925, the results indicate that immigrants do show a tendency to settle in states where most land is available for crops.⁵

tors. For the Oklahoma counties the coefficient was $-.54$. In this computation the two series are ranked and the following formula applied: $P = \frac{1 - 6SD^2}{N(N^2 - 1)}$. The Spearman formula is not as accurate as the Pearsonian, but as Professor Chaddock has pointed out, "Where the number of related items is small and the unreliability correspondingly great, this method serves as well as a more exact and laborious one." Cf. Chaddock, *Principles and Methods of Statistics* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925), p. 303.

⁴The number of persons formerly engaged in agriculture who specify a certain state as their intended future residence is not an accurate index of the number of immigrants who actually become members of the farm population in that state, but it is the only indication at hand of the situation since 1920.

⁵The correlation by the Spearman method is $+.32$. If the index of the incoming foreign-born farm population could be made more exact, it is likely that this coefficient would be still more evident. When the twelve Southern states excluded from this computation are included, however, the results are reversed, a coefficient of $-.22$. In other words, the Southern states contain large tracts of land suitable for crops without drainage but still do not draw immigrant settlers. This has already been noted and explained. The divergence between these two tendencies in the Southern states is so great that the correlation, for the country as a whole, is changed from positive to negative by their inclusion.

PRICE OF LAND

The cost of land per acre, the measure of its availability to the prospective purchaser, also has an effect on the size of the foreign-born farm population and on the proportion of operators who are immigrants. This relationship, however, is not so marked for the country as a whole by states as it is within smaller units. The average valuation of land throughout a state represents too wide a variety of conditions, both rural and urban, to give fair index to the cost of land to the prospective immigrant farmer. To overcome this difficulty, therefore, it was decided to base the correlation on the relationship between land values and the presence of foreign-born farm operators on the counties of one state. Wisconsin was selected for this purpose, both because the proportion of immigrant farmers in the total was high, and because the cost of land per acre was known to show a good range of variation. Furthermore, it was known that this state had large tracts of land suitable for farming and that it was still attracting immigrants. In this way it was hoped to avoid a foreign-born farm-operator group composed exclusively of men who had settled many years ago and grown old with their communities. The result of this correlation between cost of land per acre and the proportion of all farm operators who were born abroad shows definitely that the immigrant farmers tend to avoid counties in Wisconsin, where land values are high.⁶ In one area studied in that state, a third of the foreign-born farmers said that the low price of land had caused them to settle there. Finally, as has been indicated above, the presence of immigrants attracts other foreign-born as long as land is available. This, of course, is but natural. The concentration of farmers of a specified nativity in certain sections also would further seem to indicate that the immigrant tends to prefer his own people to other foreigners.

The most desirable place for settlement from the point of view of the foreign agriculturist, as revealed by this analysis, is one that satisfies the following conditions: (1) Freedom from competition with Negro farmers. This obstacle to settlement in a given community apparently does not influence the children

⁶The correlation was $-.62$.

of immigrants to the same extent as their parents. (2) Large acreage of humid land available for cultivation without drainage. (3) Farm land at low cost per acre. (4) A foreign-born population already established in the community. Under these circumstances, it was to have been expected that in 1920 the foreign-born population would avoid the Southern states and would be found in the Great Lakes region and along the northern Atlantic seaboard.

In any effort to compare the success of foreign-born and native-born farmers it is important, however, to go further and determine, so far as possible, whether the former is more inclined than the latter to settle on poor roads and poor soil. Unfortunately the data as to the type of land on which farmers settle, while secured by the Census, are not tabulated separately according to nativity of the farm operator.

It is possible, however, as was indicated in the last chapter, to trace with a fair degree of accuracy the recent movement of southern Europeans to the land.

These farmers, as has already been shown, are going into the New England and Middle Atlantic states. In the last Census period the number of native-born farmers in these two areas declined by more than one fifth and more than one tenth respectively. But in New England, Polish farm operators increased in number more than fourfold and in the Middle Atlantic states more than sevenfold in the same time. The number of Italian farmers also more than doubled in these areas. Every state in these two Census regions shared in this increase.

These new recruits to American agriculture, showing, as will be seen later, a high proportion of farm ownership, are known to be taking the less favorable land. The best farms left by the native-born are rented to other native-born who would rather till the good soil of another than struggle with poor soil of their own. The foreign-born take the marginal land, hoping that their energy and muscle will overcome other handicaps. This is not merely a matter of common report in the areas affected. It is shown in farm-management surveys such as that of the town of Lebanon, Connecticut, described later, by the history of many of the communities surveyed, including some of those described in the case studies in Part II, and by the expert opinions of the county agents of the Department of Agriculture, soon to be

given. In other words, in their competition with native-born farmers, the immigrants in the New England and the Middle Atlantic states start under self-imposed handicaps in the matter of soil and location.

The exceptions to this are found among those of the new immigration who have laid by sufficient capital, usually by first working in the cities, to purchase good land. These have become market gardeners like the Poles of Long Island or the Italians of South Jersey.

The northern cut-over country of the Middle West furnishes an interesting confirmation of this tendency of the southern and eastern Europeans to seek out the land that puts them at a disadvantage so far as location is concerned. In Wisconsin, for example, the older immigrants are established in the prosperous counties in the southern and central part of the state near to urban markets. Their number here is decreasing as it is throughout the Middle West, as was noted in the last chapter. But in the cut-over country to the north, the Slavs have pushed with determination. There, in twelve counties, foreign-born farmers increased by 43.7 per cent. in the last Census period, and the number of those of foreign parentage has also grown markedly. These pioneers of the new century have enlisted in the war against the stumps, willingly accepting the handicap of their location in view of the compensating low price of the available land.

The older groups of foreign-born farmers who have been longer on the land than these Slavic and Latin immigrants, now for the most part have farms that compare favorably with those of the native-born so far as location and character of soil are concerned, as the figures on farm ownership and farm values given later in the chapter show. Indeed, the older farmers of this group were never as handicapped in comparison with the native-born as are the recent recruits to agriculture. True, they, too, faced pioneer conditions; but America was younger then and the native-born were pioneering also.

In addition to the clues furnished by the Census and the field survey as to the location of the immigrant farmers, expert opinion on a national basis as to the quality of land secured by these people was obtained. A questionnaire on this and other points was sent to about seven hundred county agents of the

United States Department of Agriculture⁷ located in states with an appreciable number of immigrant farmers. One question asked was, "What type of land does the foreign-born farmer choose?"

REGIONAL VARIATIONS

The number of reports that the best land was going to the foreign-born, 116, almost exactly equalled the count of those who were acquiring poor, abandoned, or cut-over land, 117. In addition there were twenty-eight reports that average land was secured and eighty-one that "all types" of land were being purchased. Eliminating the last group, because there was no means of dividing the "all" among the other types, some interesting variations are discoverable. Of seventy-three reports from the Middle Atlantic and New England states, fifty-eight, or about four fifths, indicate that the foreigner is taking below-average land. In the Middle West and Far West he is choosing the best land in about six counties out of eleven, and average land in half the remaining counties. It will be recalled that the area where the tendency is to take poor land is the one that showed a marked increase in the number and proportion of foreign-born farmers in the last Census period.

RACE AND TYPE OF LAND

The county agents' replies were also divided according to certain major racial groups—the Latin, which was almost entirely Italian; the Slavic, including the Czecho- and Jugo-Slavs, and the nationalities formerly comprising Russia; the Scandinavian, composed of the Danes, Norse, and Swedes; and the Teutonic, largely Germans and Dutch with a few Swiss. It was

⁷This questionnaire received the approval of Dr. C. B. Smith, Director of the Extension Service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. Through his coöperation and that of many of the state agricultural extension services, a very wide response was received, nearly half of the county agents replying. The distribution of these replies is indicated below:

<i>Region</i>	<i>Total Number States Responding</i>	<i>Total Number [Counties Responding</i>
Northern Colonial	9	78
Middle West	10	156
Far West	6	78

The Northern Colonial includes the Middle Atlantic and New England Census divisions, the Middle West, the east and west North Central states and the Far West, the Pacific and Mountain states.

found that the Scandinavians showed the least tendency to be satisfied with poor land. In only one third of the counties were they reported as acquiring it, as against two fifths for the Teutonic and Latin groups and two thirds for the Slavs. The full results of this inquiry are set forth in Table XIII.

TABLE XIII. TYPE OF LAND PURCHASED BY FOREIGN-BORN FARMERS*

REGION	TOTAL No. OF REPORTS	COUNTIES WHERE PURCHASERS CHOSE SPECIFIED TYPES OF LAND			
		<i>Latin</i>	<i>Slavic</i>	<i>Scandinavian</i>	<i>Teutonic</i>
BEST LAND					
Total.....	116	23	16	34	43
Northern Colonial.....	11	8	3	—	—
Middle West.....	65	2	9	27	27
Far West.....	40	13	4	7	16
AVERAGE LAND					
Total.....	28	9	4	13	2
Northern Colonial.....	4	1	3	—	—
Middle West.....	8	3	1	2	2
Far West.....	16	5	—	11	—
POOR OR CUT-OVER ABANDONED LAND					
Total.....	117	20	39	26	32
Northern Colonial.....	58	17	25	7	9
Middle West.....	44	2	14	14	14
Far West.....	15	1	—	5	9
ALL KINDS OF LAND					
Total.....	81	17	18	23	23
Northern Colonial.....	16	6	6	2	2
Middle West.....	57	5	12	20	20
Far West.....	8	6	—	1	1

*A number of county agents noted varying tendencies for different racial groups. Hence the number of reports slightly exceeds the number of county agents replying. This holds for other tabular material based on this questionnaire.

Those who purchased the best land were of three types. First were those who had worked as laborers or tenants on a good farm until they had saved enough to purchase it. The second group included foreign-born who had worked in the city and been successful enough to warrant their purchasing a good farm when they decided to forsake urban life. Finally, some foreign-born who had passed through the pioneer stage sold their initial holdings and bought good land elsewhere.

The study thus far has shown that while the earlier immi-

grants usually sought the soil as soon as they reached America, there is now a tendency, especially in the Eastern states, for the foreign-born to work in cities for some years after coming here. Then, urged by relatives or friends or enticed by advertisements, they secure farms. For the most part the newer arrivals are seen to begin farming under conditions that place them at a disadvantage, with respect to location and soil, in comparison with native-born farmers as well as with foreign agriculturists of the earlier immigration.

In fairness to the newer group of immigrants, this fact should be borne in mind when we consider the results of an inquiry concerning the success of the foreign-born as farm operators.

MEASURING SUCCESS

Do the foreign-born farmers make good? The testimony gathered in the field survey was almost entirely to the effect that they do.

"My Italian neighbor came here eighteen years ago with \$90. Now he owns two large farms, has a good car, two trucks, and one of the best homes on the Pike," said a leading native-born farmer to a field worker.

"In March, 1925, that Wop yonder bought a sixty-acre farm for \$2,400, practically all on mortgage. He had a wife and eight children. In June, 1926, he drove up in an old Ford and pulled the money to pay off the mortgage in ten- and twenty-dollar bills from a dirty old canvas bag. During the winter he had taken a job in the steel mill (urban work during the winter is quite common among the newer foreign-born farmers) and with one winter, one season, and unpaid family labor, he paid for that farm." So ran another bit of testimony.

Many similar tales were told and could often be substantiated. But there is another side. One group of Armenians who had bought land in a highly specialized Western farming district were bankrupt almost to a man as a result of the agricultural depression. Many who had been cheated by unscrupulous fellow countrymen, agents, or development companies sold at a heavy loss and returned to the city. Nevertheless, as will be seen, the precise factual Census material indicates that public opinion is in the main correct when it proclaims the success of the immigrant farmer in the United States.

THE CENSUS STORY

This Census material has been drawn from the United States Agricultural Census of 1920.⁸ It relates to the extent to which foreign-born farmers have achieved land ownership as compared with the proportion of owners among the native-born white farmers, and also to the value of the land held by the average farmer in each of the two groups.

If ownership of the land that one tills be taken as an index of success in agriculture, the foreign-born farmer ranks high. The proportion of farm owners among immigrants exceeds the proportion of native-born white farm owner-operators in the total native-born groups in every one of the nine Census divisions, except New England, where the difference is less than one tenth of 1 per cent. Of the 4,760,406 native-born white owners and tenants, 66.4 per cent. own the land they cultivate. Of the 573,880 foreign-born white farmers, other than operating managers, 90.8 per cent. have achieved ownership.⁹ The holdings of this group constitute 83.5 per cent. of the total land operated by foreign-born farmers of the owner and tenant groups.

The proportion of owner-operators among the foreign-born farmers exceeds the proportion among the native-born, therefore, by 21.8 per cent. The difference in the proportion is most marked in the East and West North Central Census divisions and in the South, as will be seen in Table XIV.

The difference in the Western divisions is probably owing to the foreign-born farmers there being older than those elsewhere and to their having been longer on the land. In the South, the small number of farmers involved, the difference in the type of agriculture and size of holdings, and the presence of many permanent tenants among the native whites, doubtless account for the difference.

⁸Unfortunately, the 1925 Agricultural Census did not secure the nativity of the farmer.

⁹It will be noted that farm-manager operators have been excluded from this and all subsequent comparisons but one. Only 7,188 foreign-born whites, 1.24 per cent., are so classified by the Census. Many of these apparently manage estates that are technically, but not actually, farms. When, therefore, this small group was distributed among the various states or even regions, by nationality, the presence of these exceptional situations distorted the results. Thus, in one state the average value of improved farm land managed by Norwegians was nearly \$60,000 an acre. Hence, it was decided to eliminate the farm-manager group entirely in this section of the study.

TABLE XIV. NATIVE AND FOREIGN-BORN WHITE OWNERS AND TENANTS, BY DIVISIONS, 1920*

DIVISION	NATIVE-BORN FARMERS PER CENT.			FOREIGN-BORN FARMERS PER CENT.		
	Total Number	Owners	Tenants	Total Number	Owners	Tenants
United States.	4,760,406	66.4	33.6	573,880	80.9	19.1
New England.	121,852	92.4	7.6	27,235	92.3	7.7
Middle Atlantic.	360,839	78.1	21.9	45,625	84.0	16.0
East North Central.	906,727	69.4	30.6	143,381	85.4	14.6
West North Central.	855,476	62.3	37.7	205,040	78.5	21.5
South Atlantic.	742,235	65.6	34.4	7,039	88.3	11.7
East South Central.	725,637	63.4	36.6	3,452	81.7	18.3
West South Central.	704,116	53.2	46.8	39,737	56.1	43.9
Mountain.	189,871	84.1	15.9	40,487	86.2	13.8
Pacific.	153,653	80.7	19.3	61,884	82.8	17.2

*Data from the *Fourteenth Census*, 1920, Vol. V, p. 322.

COMPARISON OF OWNERSHIP BY RACE

An effort was made to discover whether the proportion of owner-operators among the foreign-born farmers was greater for some nationalities than for others. For this purpose the percentage of owners, of tenants, and of farm managers also for purposes of comparison, was computed. These data, presented in Table XV, are for the nation as a whole. The Census, unfortunately, includes certain important groups, such as the Czechs under the category "Other Europe"; but in the main the table is significant. It shows that the Finns, Canadians, and Poles rate higher than any others in the proportion of all farmers who have achieved ownership. When the comparison was made on a regional basis, it developed that the Scotch, Irish, Norwegians, Swedes, Germans, Poles, Finns, and Canadians rate above the average of all foreign-born in six or more of the nine Census regions. The proportions for the all-British and the all-Scandinavian groups, and also for the Swiss, French, and Austrian farmers, exceed the proportion for the native-born in six or more of the nine regions. The details of this comparison are given in Appendix Table 5.

The factor of mortgage debt might alter the general impression of these figures; but figures showing the equity of farm owners in their holdings are not available for the different nativity groups separately for purposes of comparison. It did not prove possible to secure this information from the Census. Length of

residence in America or on the land is another factor of importance that could not be isolated; and the absence of this information prevents more precise analysis and interpretation of the data presented. Even with these limitations it would appear that many diverse groups of foreign-born farmers have been

TABLE XV. DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE FARMERS, BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND BY TENURE*

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	TOTAL NUMBER	PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION		
		<i>Owners</i>	<i>Managers</i>	<i>Tenants</i>
Total.....	581,068	79.91	1.24	18.85
England.....	26,614	82.06	3.22	14.72
Scotland.....	7,605	78.95	5.44	15.61
Wales.....	2,472	83.78	2.14	14.08
Ireland.....	16,562	84.08	3.50	12.42
Norway.....	51,599	84.91	.70	14.39
Sweden.....	60,461	82.89	1.03	16.08
Denmark.....	25,565	76.37	1.31	22.32
Netherlands.....	15,589	66.48	1.26	32.26
Switzerland.....	13,051	79.11	1.27	19.62
France.....	6,119	80.77	1.63	17.60
Germany.....	140,667	83.15	.85	16.00
Poland.....	17,352	85.72	.66	13.62
Austria.....	30,172	81.31	.78	17.91
Hungary.....	7,122	76.37	1.12	22.51
Russia.....	32,388	74.86	.55	24.59
Finland.....	14,988	91.60	.32	8.08
Roumania.....	693	76.91	1.01	22.08
Greece.....	846	63.83	1.54	34.63
Italy.....	18,267	73.37	1.28	25.35
Portugal.....	4,254	68.08	1.15	30.77
Other European.....	20,107	75.78	.90	23.32
Mexico.....	12,142	13.38	.97	85.65
Canada.....	48,668	86.02	1.87	12.11
Other Countries.....	7,765	71.39	1.71	26.90

*Data from *Fourteenth Census*, 1920, Vol. V, p. 318.

successful in achieving a high rating when their success is tested by the degree of farm ownership achieved. The next step is to examine the story told by the data on farm values.

VALUE OF RURAL IMMIGRANT FARMS

The Census data on this point also indicate that the foreign-born farmer has made good on the land. In 1920 the total value of the land and buildings owned or rented by this group was approximately \$9,000,000,000, or about one seventh of the total value of the property of white farmers. The foreign-born constituted, however, only about one tenth of this group. They

held, therefore, a share of total farm property¹⁰ disproportionately large for their numerical strength. The investment in land and buildings of the foreign-born owner-operators was \$6,261,205,080, practically one sixth of the total value of the holdings of all white farm owner-operators, only one ninth of whom were foreign-born. The average value of the farms of the foreign-born operated by owners in the United States in 1920 was \$13,484, a figure more than one third higher than the average valuation for the farms of the native-born, which was \$10,019. The farms of the foreign-born owner-operators averaged slightly more than one tenth larger than those of the natives, 184 as against 165 acres, so that the per acre advantage of the immigrant group, \$73.28 as against \$60.72, amounts to a difference of 20 per cent.

When the foreign-born group is divided among the various nationalities for which data are given by the 1920 United States Census, it is seen, as Table XVI shows, that only five nationalities have a lower average valuation than the native-born. These are the Austrians, Italians, Poles, Hungarians, and Finns. It will be noted that two of these groups, the Finns, who stand lowest, and the Poles, are two of the three that showed the highest proportion of farmer owners. These are also among the groups most frequently mentioned by the country agents as taking poor, abandoned, or cut-over land for farms. On this type of land ownership is probably more easy to achieve. The third group, standing high in ownership, the Canadian, just exceeds the native-born in average value of farms.

The figures in Table XVI, which presents these data, are capable of further interpretation.

The three nationalities leading in the value of owner-operated farms are the Danes, Scotch, and Germans. All of these groups exceed \$16,000 per farm, though the per-acre valuation differs sharply. In addition to these, the owned farms of operators born in Ireland, Norway, Russia, Holland, Switzerland, Wales, and Portugal, ranking in the order named, exceed the average value of all foreign-born owner-operated farms. It will be seen that the

¹⁰Attention must again be called to the unfortunate failure of the 1925 United States Agricultural Census to secure data for native- and foreign-born separately. If the holdings of the foreign-born lost in value in the same proportion as did those of the total group during the agricultural depression, their total present investment would be about seven billion.

north European group ranks very high; but these groups have for the most part been in the United States longer than the others. The only eastern and southern European countries in the above list are Russia and Portugal. Many of the Russians are wheat farmers in the Dakotas, and a number of them are known to have come from territories that were formerly Russian but

TABLE XVI. AVERAGE SIZE AND VALUE OF FARMS OPERATED BY OWNERS AND TENANTS FOR NATIVE-BORN FARMERS AND FOR FOREIGN-BORN FARMERS, BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH*

COUNTRY OF BIRTH†	OWNERS			TENANTS		
	<i>Average Size of Farm in Acres</i>	<i>Average Value of Farm</i>	<i>Average Value per Acre</i>	<i>Average Size of Farm in Acres</i>	<i>Average Value of Farm</i>	<i>Average Value per Acre</i>
Total Native-born...	165	\$10,019	\$ 60.72	132	\$11,996	\$ 90.87
Total Foreign-born...	184	13,484	73.28	191	21,706	113.64
England.....	173	11,891	68.73	112	19,233	171.72
Scotland.....	104	16,207	155.83	132	29,731	157.05
Wales.....	190	13,881	73.05	179	18,462	103.19
Ireland.....	238	15,687	65.91	258	25,572	99.11
Norway.....	219	15,307	69.89	198	26,419	133.42
Sweden.....	166	11,220	62.59	215	30,130	140.14
Denmark.....	193	16,828	87.18	211	30,496	144.53
Netherlands.....	136	14,939	109.87	184	31,749	112.76
Switzerland.....	183	14,689	80.27	231	25,422	110.05
France.....	225	13,227	58.79	414	29,742	71.84
Germany.....	184	16,029	87.11	187	27,362	151.66
Poland.....	112	7,411	66.11	134	16,934	126.37
Austria.....	108	9,902	91.69	137	14,972	109.28
Hungary.....	141	7,159	50.77	123	12,188	99.09
Russia.....	316	15,349	48.57	277	17,784	64.20
Finland.....	109	5,247	48.14	146	10,230	70.07
Italy.....	94	7,531	80.12	118	15,497	131.32
Portugal.....	122	13,517	110.79	115	26,324	228.90
Other European....	171	14,463	84.58	173	21,531	124.45
Canada.....	92	10,601	116.31	214	15,678	73.26

*Data derived from *Fourteenth Census*, 1920, Vol. V.

†Nationalities with less than 2,000 farmers omitted.

now form independent nations. The Portuguese group is small and rather highly concentrated, and its average valuation is brought up by two successful and prosperous groups, especially that in the San Joaquin Valley in California. The case of these two groups emphasizes the fact that the crops raised and length of tenure are two factors of importance in explaining these figures; and about these two factors information is not obtainable. An attempt was made to see in how far the story told by these national figures held true for all Census regions. The detailed results of this divisional comparison by average value of

farm for various nationalities are to be found in Appendix Table 6. As might be expected, such a comparison disclosed certain differences. Thus the Irish farmers, in a majority of the regions, stand higher than the three groups that lead on a national basis. However, the larger number of German farmers, for instance, in the high-land-value sections of the Middle West, enabled this nationality to lead the Irish when the calculation was based on

TABLE XVII. RANK OF FOREIGN-BORN FARM OWNERS ACCORDING TO VALUE OF FARM AND PER ACRE VALUATION, BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	TOTAL FARM VALUE LAND AND BUILDINGS			AVERAGE VALUE PER ACRE		
	Rank	Rank	Rank	Rank	Rank	Rank
	1-7	8-14	15-21	1-7	8-14	15-21
England.....	4	4	1	3	5	1
Scotland.....	7	0	2	3	1	5
Wales.....	2	5	2	1	1	7
Ireland.....	9	0	0	4	2	3
Norway.....	3	5	1	2	4	3
Sweden.....	1	5	3	4	5	0
Denmark.....	2	6	1	4	3	2
Netherlands.....	6	2	1	6	2	1
Switzerland.....	4	4	1	3	3	3
France.....	6	2	1	6	1	2
Germany.....	3	6	0	4	5	0
Poland.....	0	1	8	1	5	3
Austria.....	0	2	7	1	2	6
Hungary.....	0	0	9	1	1	7
Russia.....	4	4	1	2	5	2
Finland.....	0	0	9	1	1	7
Italy.....	1	1	7	4	2	3
Portugal.....	6	1	2	5	2	2
Other European.....	1	6	2	3	4	2
Canada.....	4	4	1	1	2	6

totals for the entire United States. To facilitate a comparison by regions, the twenty-one most important groups of foreign-born farmer-owners, after being ranked according to the total average value of their farms for each of the nine Census regions, were divided into three equal sections of seven each. The number of times each group ranked in the highest, medium, and lowest of these sections was then noted. The results are given in Table XVII, which also sets down the ranking on the basis of an average per-acre value.

In the main this table substantiates the national averages. The heaviest investment in farm land and buildings on the part of foreign-born farm owners has been by the north Europeans,

who have been in this country a longer time. Though there are differences in the ranking of the nationalities on the per-acre basis, nevertheless there is real similarity in a number of cases. Some of the sharp exceptions would seem to indicate that the south European is making more intensive use of what land he has than are the older groups.

For purposes of comparison, the average acreage and valuation of tenant-operated farms are also given for both the native and the foreign groups in Table XVI. It will be noted that in both cases these tenant farms are somewhat larger than those of the owners and that they are much more valuable, as would be expected because the tenant farms have to support two families and only the owner of a farm capable of doing this can afford to rent. It will be noted also that for the foreign group there is greater difference in size and value between tenant-operated and owner-operated farms than for the native group. The high valuation of the farms the foreign-born rent at least suggests that they are desirable tenants and that they seek to rent the better grade of farms.

It was noted that among the various nationalities there was as much as a 100 per cent. difference in the ratio of improved land to total acreage. It was, therefore, felt that the average valuation per acre of improved land might reveal something regarding the farming ability and success of the foreign-born. The computations proved this to be a false hope. The variations among the several groups by the nine Census divisions were very wide. Thus in the average valuation per acre of improved land the Scotch ranked second in one region, third in another, fourth in three, but fourteenth and eighteenth in others. The Germans ranged from third in one region to twenty-second in another. The Polish ranks varied from first place to twenty-first, the Italians from first to fourteenth. With divergences such as these, it was obvious that the average acre-value of improved land was either a faulty index or that there were factors operating for which proper allowance could not be made. It is therefore believed that the average value per farm and the figures based on total acreage form a more reliable index to the relative position of various groups of foreign-born farmers in comparison with the native-born and with one another.

A third basis for comparing the success of the foreign-born

and the native-stock farmers is that of farming method or farm management. Here two sources of data were procurable, first the opinion of the county agents of the Department of Agriculture; second, precise and detailed farm-management surveys. The judgment of the county agents was deemed important because it represented a body of expert opinion gathered on a national basis.

FARMING METHODS OF FOREIGN-BORN

OPINION OF COUNTY AGENTS

The question put to the county agents was: "Do farming methods of foreign-born farmers differ from those of native-born as to rotation or in any other way?"

The response to this question showed about a fifty-fifty division in the older areas of the country; but in the Far West the number of agents who replied that the foreign-born used different methods from the native-born was twice the number that said there was no material difference in methods of cultivation employed. The chief differences noted by the county agents, curiously enough, were not concerned with the question of poor rotation, of "old-country," careless, or less efficient methods, although these were mentioned by seventy-five of the agents. The agents did, however, notice as a marked difference the tendency in all regions for the foreign-born to cultivate their land far more intensively than the native-born. This tendency was mentioned by ninety-four county agents out of 143 who noticed a difference in methods. Even where county agents did note that the foreign-born were less up-to-date in their methods, particularly in the use of machinery, they often added the comment that as soon as a sufficient degree of economic progress had been made, machinery appeared on the farms of the immigrants. The reason, therefore, for the greater use of hand power and the less use of machine power was frequently economic.

TYPES OF FARMING

A second question on this same general point was: "Does the foreign-born farmer tend to enter a different type of farming than the native-born?"

In every region the preponderance of answers was negative. Roughly, in two cases out of three the type of farming for both the foreign- and the native-born farmer was the same. Where there were differences, the immigrant farmer was found almost entirely engaged in a more specialized type of agriculture. He devoted himself to truck or dairy farming, whereas the native farmer was occupied with general or wheat farming. The foreigners usually chose fewer crops and crops that were harder to handle and required more hand labor, and they invariably used their entire families in the cultivation of crops.

The tabulated results of these opinions, again divided according to the major racial groups to which they relate, are set forth in Tables XVIII and XIX. It will be noted that the tendency

TABLE XVIII. FARMING METHODS OF FOREIGN-BORN FARMERS COMPARED WITH THOSE OF NATIVE-BORN FARMERS

REPORTS OF COUNTY AGENTS SHOWING METHODS TO BE										
REGION	DIF- FER- ENT		DIF- FER- ENT		DIF- FER- ENT		DIF- FER- ENT		DIF- FER- ENT	
	SAME	ENT	SAME	ENT	SAME	ENT	SAME	ENT	SAME	ENT
	<i>Total</i>		<i>Latin</i>		<i>Slavic</i>		<i>Scandinavian</i>		<i>Teutonic</i>	
Total.....	201	183	41	30	47	38	52	49	61	66
Northern Co- lonial.....	40	53	16	18	16	23	4	5	4	7
Middle West..	109	101	7	5	28	14	36	32	38	50
Far West.	52	29	18	7	3	1	12	12	19	9

TABLE XIX. TYPES OF FARMING OF FOREIGN-BORN FARMERS COMPARED WITH NATIVE-BORN FARMERS

REPORTS OF COUNTY AGENTS SHOWING TYPE OF FARMING TO BE										
REGION	DIF- FER- ENT		DIF- FER- ENT		DIF- FER- ENT		DIF- FER- ENT		DIF- FER- ENT	
	SAME	ENT	SAME	ENT	SAME	ENT	SAME	ENT	SAME	ENT
	<i>Total</i>		<i>Latin</i>		<i>Slavic</i>		<i>Scandinavian</i>		<i>Teutonic</i>	
Total.....	108	224	32	37	22	47	23	62	31	78
Northern Co- lonial.....	26	64	14	21	9	26	—	9	3	8
Middle West..	43	120	2	8	11	19	14	39	16	54
Far West.	39	40	16	8	2	2	9	14	12	16

for the foreign-born to differ from the native-born in methods and in the kinds of crops grown is not consistent throughout the regions, and especially that there is more likelihood of differences in procedure among all groups in the Far West than elsewhere.

This suggests that other factors than race alone are at work in determining differences. Two probable factors are length of residence in this country and the type of settlement in which the foreign-born lived; that is, whether they were scattered throughout a county or segregated in more or less isolated groups. As has already been stated, it was not possible to obtain from the county agents information as to length of residence. In the main it was quite noticeable to field workers that in the communities visited the groups that had been in this country the longest appeared to show less differences from the practices of the native-born than those belonging to races and nationalities that had more recently begun to enter the agricultural life of the United States. This can be readily seen by comparing in Tables XVIII and XIX the figures for the Scandinavian and Teutonic groups and those for the more recently arrived Slavs and Latins.

RESULTS OF ISOLATION

The influence of living in isolated racial groups as compared with residence in proximity to the native-born was sharply marked. For all four racial groups, when the immigrants were more or less distributed throughout a county, their procedure in a large majority of cases did not differ from that of the native-

TABLE XX. EFFECT OF SEGREGATION OF FOREIGN-BORN UPON FARMING METHODS

Group	COUNTIES IN WHICH FOREIGN-BORN LIVE IN COMMUNITIES			
	SEGREGATED		UNSEGREGATED	
	<i>Foreign-born Methods Differ from Native-born</i>	<i>Foreign-born Methods Do Not Differ from Native-born</i>	<i>Foreign-born Methods Differ from Native-born</i>	<i>Foreign-born Methods Do Not Differ from Native-born</i>
Latin.....	26	9	13	23
Slavic.....	27	17	11	23
Scandinavian.....	32	21	17	27
Teutonic.....	43	18	11	28

born. When, on the other hand, members of these groups were segregated, methods differed more often than not, even among the older immigrant groups, as is shown by Table XX.

It was interesting to see that the differences of the segregated groups occurred not only where agricultural practices were less

efficient but also where they were more efficient, or at least where they were characterized by more intensive work than was common among the native-born. In other words, the general distribution of foreign-born farmers in a county may lower the level of agricultural practice if the immigrants have been accustomed to methods less efficient than those of the native-born; or it may lift it, if the foreign-born have been used to more intensive cultivation.

In the letters that frequently accompanied the questionnaires additional testimony on the points raised was often given. It was noted, for instance, that the foreign-born were more conservative in the financial management of their farms. They were less likely than the native farmers to borrow for improvements, for machinery, or for additions to house or barn. This aversion to incurring debt was reported from many sections of the country, and it is interesting to note that, if the testimony of early writers on American agriculture is to be trusted, this was also the tendency of the native-born in the pioneer days of American farming. A number of the county agents stated that when the sons of the foreign-born farmers assumed an active share in the management of the farms, they were very eager to adopt the modern methods, in some cases even plunging a little bit stronger than the average American farmers. One or two of the county agents made the suggestion that this was a natural reaction to the self-denial these second-generation operators had had to practise at home while the farm was being paid for.

This phase of the discussion must not be left without attention being drawn to the experience in the South, where the methods of the relatively few foreign-born farmers do differ radically from those of the native-born white and Negro farmers. The first two case studies in Part II give striking illustrations of this and of the difference in the results as well.

FARM-MANAGEMENT SURVEYS

In seeking a better and more detailed basis for the comparison of native-born and immigrant farmers, attention was directed to the intensive farm-management surveys of more than 70,000 individual farms conducted by the various state colleges of agriculture in coöperation with the Federal Department of Agriculture. Two difficulties arose in connection with the use of

this material. Most of these studies were made prior to the 1920 Census and the agricultural depression. With the exception of one study in one state, the factor of nativity was entirely ignored in securing records. If these surveys were to be used, it involved securing by field visitations the birthplace of each farmer so that the results might be retabulated according to nativity. This made it doubly necessary to use only such surveys as had been recently undertaken. Through the coöperation of several colleges of agriculture, this was done; but a new difficulty arose. In two cases all the farmers studied by the colleges were native-born of foreign parents. Such samples would have allowed no comparisons. In several other cases there were only foreign-born farmers. The comparison had finally to be limited to two samples, one in North Dakota, the other in Connecticut, which best met all necessary conditions. In these two samples the farm management of 339 farmers was studied by nationality. The type of farming within each group was similar. These two samples make possible a contrast between a Western and an Eastern area.

THE NORTH DAKOTA SURVEY¹¹

The North Dakota study included 158 farms located in six of the eight most southwesterly counties of North Dakota. The farms were selected by the state agricultural experiment station because they were "said to be successful," being "considerably above the average for the region." All the farmers covered in this survey were owner-operators, although a considerable number rented additional land, averaging about one fifth of the total area of the farm. Most of this rented land was used for hay and pasture purposes. The soils "are essentially residual, being derived largely from the weathering of shales and sandstones. They are mostly loam with frequent small areas of sandy loams." The college in its published bulletin did not classify the farms by type of soil, hence no effort was made in the Institute's use of the material to evaluate the effect of this factor.

¹¹Access to the records of the North Dakota farms was secured through Mr. Rex E. Willard, Farm Economist of the Experiment Station of the North Dakota Agricultural College, whose generous coöperation is herewith gratefully acknowledged. Cf. *An Economic Study of Farming in Southwestern North Dakota*, by Rex E. Willard and L. A. Reynoldson.

Of the 158 farmers, sixty-eight were native-born, but the parents of sixty-two of these were foreign-born. The parents of a few more than half this group had been Germans, and of nearly one fourth, English. Eleven nationalities were represented among the ninety foreign-born. Forty were German, twenty Scandinavian, and twenty Russian. The other ten were scattered. The distribution of these groups according to parentage may be thus summarized:

Native-born of native parentage.....	6 ¹²
Native-born of English parentage.....	14
Native-born of other foreign parentage.....	48
Foreign-born (north European).....	62
Foreign-born (Russian and southeastern European).....	28
	<hr/> 158

The data about the farms of this group will now be considered under three heads: agricultural practices, financial investment and return, and miscellaneous facts.

The average acreage of the farms was 817. Those of the native-born deviated sharply from this average, having only 688 acres. The acreage of the north Europeans, 843, was considerably above that of the other foreign-born, 701. Length of tenure does not explain this difference as proportionately a few more north Europeans than other foreign-born settled their farms in the last two decades.

One significant difference in agricultural practice is brought out by showing, for each nativity group, what proportion of the farmers' total acreage is in crops. In this respect the Russian and southeastern European group lead all others with an average of 44.0 per cent. The north Europeans use one third, the native-born of foreign parentage, 30 per cent., of their acreage in crops. The six native-born of native parentage utilize for crops 34.7 per cent. of their acreage.

Another difference concerns the proportion of crop land in wheat. Here there were marked contrasts. The foreign-born planted much more wheat than any native-born group; and

¹²A comparison based on only six farms on which there were native-born of native parentage is perhaps open to question. This group is kept separate for two reasons: (1) The data for the native-born of foreign parentage are given so that the results for this element among the native-born are separated. (2) These farms were specially selected as successful. The general average for the native-born farmers therefore probably does not excel the record of these six.

within this group the Russians especially devoted nearly three fourths of their crop acreage to this grain, as against 58 per cent. for the foreign-born of northern European races. The native-born of English parentage, and the six native-born of native parentage, showed the greatest degree of diversification and planted proportionately less land to wheat. Variations in average yield per acre among the various groups were not important. There was virtually no difference in the number of dairy cows per farm; but among persons of foreign parentage, those of English stock, and among the foreign-born, the northern Europeans had many more heads of other cattle than did the other groups. They average fifty-four and forty-seven respectively, as against forty for the other farmers of foreign parentage, thirty-four for the other foreign-born, and twenty-two for the native-born. One other item that concerned farm practice was the possession of a tractor. Half the native-born, and the native-born of English parentage, had such machines; only about one third of the farmers in each of the other groups had them. These facts appear to show, as far as they go, that the agricultural practice of the native-born of native and English parentage is slightly more progressive than that of the other farmers.

TABLE XXI. AVERAGE INITIAL CAPITAL, LIABILITIES, AND PRESENT NET WORTH OF 158 SELECTED NORTH DAKOTA FARMS, BY NATIVITY

<i>Nativity</i>	<i>No. of Farms in Group</i>	<i>Average Initial Capital</i>	<i>Average Present Net Value</i>	<i>Average Liabilities</i>
All Farms.....	158	\$4,783	\$19,584	\$3,475
Native-born of Native Parentage.....	6	3,005	20,577	1,901
Native-born of English Parentage.....	14	7,152	16,623	4,010
Other Native-born of Foreign Parentage.....	41	6,518	22,175	3,097
Foreign-born—North Europe	62	4,084	19,200	3,972
Foreign-born—Other Europe	28	2,549	17,511	3,092

NOTE: According to a recent bulletin by Rex E. Willard entitled *Some Farming Changes in Southwestern North Dakota 1922-1925*, and published late in 1926, the amount of investment decreased 30 per cent., assets 29 per cent., and liabilities about \$1,000 per farm. This was due to the agricultural depression.

The financial figures would seem to indicate that this difference in practice did not carry over into a conclusive showing of superiority. Table XXI shows for each group the average

initial capital invested, the present liabilities, and the present net value of the farmers' interest in their holdings. It will be observed that for all groups the present net value of the farmers' interest in their holdings is much greater than the initial investment. Much of this increase has been recent and is represented by rising land values. All but one of the native-born of native or English parentage had moved into the area within fifteen years of the time of the survey. So had nearly three fourths of the northern Europeans and half the farmers of the other European-born group. The six farmers of native parentage seem to have made one of the best records. On the other hand, this group shows poorly in the matter of total farm income and net income per crop acre; nor do those of English parentage do very much better. In this respect the native-born of foreign parentage make the best record. Theirs is the largest net income per farm and per crop acre, despite their large per-acre expense. Possibly they have adopted modern methods of agriculture but retained Old World habits of work and thrift. Table XXII tells the story.

TABLE XXII. AVERAGE RECEIPTS, EXPENSES, AND INCOME PER ACRE AND AVERAGE TOTAL FARM INCOME* FOR 158 SELECTED NORTH DAKOTA FARMS, BY NATIVITY

NATIVITY	No. OF FARMS IN GROUP	AVERAGE PER CROP ACRE			Income per Farm
		<i>Receipts</i>	<i>Expenses</i>	<i>Income</i>	
All Farms.....	155†	\$14.40	\$8.24	\$6.16	\$1711
Native-born of Native Parentage.....	6	12.91	8.42	4.49	1074
Native-born of English Parentage.....	14	13.11	7.82	5.29	1631
Native-born of North Europe Parentage.....	48†	16.79	9.08	7.71	1877
Foreign-born North Eu- rope.....	62	14.20	8.39	5.81	1656
Foreign-born Other Eu- rope.....	28	12.69	7.09	5.60	1773

*"Farm Income" is defined by the North Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station as "The difference between farm receipts and expenses. It is the amount received by the farmer to pay interest on his investment and to pay for his own labor and management."

†The records of three farms whose operators were of Russian parentage have been omitted from this table.

There remain a few questions of general interest. One relates to the value of unpaid family labor. Table XXIII shows at a

glance that this averages highest upon the farms of the foreign-born; but it will also be observed that this group has more children under sixteen years of age, most of them native-born, and more persons in the family than have any of the other groups.

TABLE XXIII. SIZE OF FAMILY, VALUE OF FAMILY LABOR AND LIVING PER FARM, FOR 158 SELECTED NORTH DAKOTA FARMS, BY NATIVITY

NATIVITY	NUMBER PER FAMILY OF		AVERAGE VALUE OF	
	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Children Under 16</i>	<i>Family Labor</i>	<i>Family Living per Farm</i>
Native-born of Native Parentage	4.5	2.2	\$ 83.33	\$632.00
Native-born of English Parentage	5.4	2.1	195.22	568.43
Other Native-born of North Eu- rope Parentage	5.8	2.7	239.51	597.60
Foreign-born North Europe. . . .	6.1	2.4	346.00	666.89
Foreign-born Other Europe. . . .	7.4	3.3	326.43	560.86

THE CONNECTICUT SURVEY

The second sample is from the results of a farm economic survey undertaken by the Agricultural Experiment Station at Storrs, Connecticut, in coöperation with the Federal Bureau of Agricultural Economics. This survey was combined with a detailed soil and land utilization study and was conducted in the town of Lebanon, Connecticut.¹³

The investigation covered 181 farms. Of the operators, eighty-four were native- and ninety-seven foreign-born. The problem of the second generation had not yet emerged as it had in North Dakota. Of the foreign-born farmers, thirty-six were of Russian birth, many of them Jews. There were twenty-three Poles, eleven Germans, and twelve from Austria and Hungary. The rest were scattered among five racial groups. About one fourth of the foreign-born were from northwest Europe and Canada;

¹³Through the kindness of Prof. L. G. Davis and his assistant, Mr. C. I. Hendrickson, who conducted the survey and wrote the report, its results, together with those of certain other studies in Lebanon, were made available to the Institute. This coöperation is herewith gratefully acknowledged. Since that time the Connecticut survey has been published by the Department of Agricultural Economics of the Connecticut State College of Agriculture as bulletin 139 under the title of *Soil Type as a Factor in Farm Economy: In the Town of Lebanon*, 48 pp. The facts given in this section are drawn from that report and, unlike the North Dakota results, did not even involve securing the nativity of the farmers, since that information was secured in the Connecticut investigation. The present author is responsible for all interpretations offered on this material unless otherwise noted.

and 92.3 per cent. of them are owner-operators, as against 88.1 per cent. of the native-born.

There are four types of soil in Lebanon of which the Charlton, designated as I, is by far the best. Areas II and IV have stony soil and are not as productive nor as valuable. On soil III there were almost no farms, and it has been eliminated from the comparison. Three fourths of the native-born are on the best soil; but only two fifths of the farmers of foreign origin have acquired land on this type of soil, and their land is not the best of any particular type. The preponderance of foreign-born on the poorer soil is to be expected. It will be recalled that particularly in the East the county agents reported the immigrants as acquiring the poorer land. Most of the groups represented in Lebanon belong to those nationalities that showed the lowest average value per farm.

It will be recalled that Connecticut lies in one of the two regions in which the 1920 Census showed the number of immigrant farmers to be increasing in number, especially those from southern and eastern Europe. It is significant, therefore, that the average tenure of the present farm by the foreign-born farmer was approximately only seven years. The native-born on soil I had been established 15.3 years, on soils II and IV nearly 21 years. This difference in the length of tenure must be borne in mind when the achievements of the two groups are compared.

Marked differences were also found in the ages of the two groups. Only one fifth of the native-born, but two fifths of the foreign-born, were under forty years of age. Two fifths of the natives, but only one tenth of the immigrant farm operators, were over sixty years of age. This again shows the recency of the movement of immigrants to the lands of the Eastern states.

The farms of the foreign-born were smaller on both types of soil than were those of the native-born. The value of the native-born farms was, therefore, naturally greater, and the number of crop acres larger. As will be seen from Table XXIV, the proportion of crop acres per farm was also higher on the holdings of native than on those of the foreign-born. The authors of the Connecticut report make this significant comment: "The native-born farmers have retained the farms having the larger number of crop acres but have abandoned the farms having a smaller number of crop acres and allowed these to fall into the

hands of foreign-born operators. This condition of lower crop acres per farm on the farms operated by foreign-born farmers is particularly connected with lower total receipts, fewer cows, lower labor efficiency and lower income on these farms."

TABLE XXIV. ACREAGE, CROP AREA, AND FARM VALUES COMPARED FOR CONNECTICUT FARMERS, BY NATIVITY AND BY TYPE OF SOIL

ITEM	FARMERS			
	NATIVE		FOREIGN	
	Soil I	Soils II and IV	Soil I	Soils II and IV
Acres per Farm.	100	152	92	111
Crop Acres per Farm.	35	40	22	25
Per Cent. Crops to Total Acreage. ...	35	26.3	23.9	22.5
Value per Farm.	\$6,681	\$6,430	\$5,595	\$5,814

The college worked out a composite crop index by which to measure the per-acre production of the two groups. It was found that regardless of soil, the yield of the farms operated by native-born exceeded that of the farms of the foreign-born. The former had a crop index of 107 on soil I and of 104 on soils II and IV, as against indices of 88 and 92 respectively for the foreign-born farmers.

These results would seem to indicate, especially in view of the failure of the foreign-born on soil I to utilize their land as well as they do on the poorer soils II and IV, that the question of labor efficiency is important. This the authors of the Connecticut bulletin show to be the case, though they feel that size of farm is a far greater factor. The foreign-born are seeking to operate an uneconomic unit. Labor efficiency raises the question of unpaid family labor. Practically two thirds of all the labor on the farms of the immigrants is by unpaid members of their families. The proportion for the native-born is barely one fifth. When unpaid labor is charged at its real value and added to the cost of paid work the foreign-born have a per-acre labor cost exactly twice that of the natives, \$22.64 as against \$11.02.

The question of labor cost naturally leads to a consideration of net receipts per farm and of labor income.¹⁴ These figures can be expressed best in the following comparison:

¹⁴Labor income is the amount left as the salary of the farmer after the interest on his investment is deducted from the net farm income. In arriving at the net farm

	SOIL I		SOIL II AND IV	
	<i>Native</i>	<i>Foreign</i>	<i>Native</i>	<i>Foreign</i>
Net Receipts.	\$775	—\$160	\$330	\$70
Labor Income.	\$300	—\$560	—\$190	—\$350
Per Cent. Having Farm Income.	78.0	40.0	66.7	45.2
Per Cent. Having Labor Income	55.9	32.5	38.9	30.8

These figures show the better financial condition of the native-born farmers; but they show, too, how the foreign-born gain a foothold on the land, for most of their farms would show a cash balance, despite the poor year, when the average unpaid labor item of \$335 is added to the net farm income. The immigrants' poorer land and their short tenure probably account for their smaller equity in their farms, barely half, compared with 70.5 per cent. for the native-born. The foreign-born farmers, however, received a large proportion of their income from non-agricultural sources. A few worked in the cities in the winter and quite a number took in summer boarders of their own nationality who came largely from New York City.

These two studies therefore confirm, in detailed and intensively studied situations, many of the conclusions advanced earlier in the chapter. The immigrants are seen gaining a foothold on the land; and, in spite of many handicaps, that foothold grows more secure as the years go by until it is often more firm than that of the native-born farmers. The immigrants pass the test of farm management even though their rating is not as high as it is on some of the other tests, and even though many would take exceptions to their exploitation of their families, without which, on a number of the Connecticut farms, they could not retain possession of their land.

Despite the handicaps of poor soil and inferior location under which so many of the new immigrants in the agricultural regions labor, it appears that the foreign-born farmers are succeeding. On the basis of the value of their farms and the proportion of owner-operators in the groups, they compare favorably with the native-born. Their agricultural practice is not backward and seems to be improving. Judged by economic and technical standards the Americans-by-choice make good on the soil.

income, the value of unpaid family labor is charged as an expense. These labor incomes are said to be abnormally low because of the poor year (1923) when the study was made.

Chapter III

INTELLIGENCE TESTS OF CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS

The tests that have been applied in this study to ascertain whether, as farmers, the foreign-born and their children measure up to American standards, have shown them to be at least as industrious as the farmers of native stock, and as skilful in the raising of crops. But there has been a rather widespread tendency in recent years to question the native ability of the foreign-born, especially of the "newer" immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, to adapt themselves to American intellectual and cultural standards. The implication has rather been that these "newer" immigrants and their children start with an intellectual and cultural handicap which makes them slow runners in the Americanization Stakes, and this assumption has played its part in increasing already existing doubts as to the wisdom of adding to the number of such aliens in the population. Some plausibility has been given to this point of view by studies based on psychological tests that have shown marked differences in scores between native-stock and foreign-stock children in urban schools.

With the merits of the general controversy the present study is not directly concerned. The question raised by these tests is, however, of practical importance for many reasons, not the least of them being that the programme for and the success of the schools in orientating the immigrant stock in the life of any given community or of the nation depends upon the capacity of the child of the foreign-born to learn. Accordingly, through selected rural schools, similar tests were employed to measure the intelligence of the foreign-stock child. These tests showed no such results as those discovered by previous studies of city children. Indeed, so far as the tests applied can be taken as evidence, they would seem to indicate that there is but little difference in intelligence between the child of native and the

child of foreign parents, whether the foreigner be of the "old" or of the "new" immigration.

Before describing the results of the intelligence tests in detail, two questions that obviously have an important bearing on their validity should be answered: First, are the schools which the rural immigrant's child attends sufficiently like those of the native-stock to make possible a fair comparison of achievement and intelligence scores? Secondly, do the children of the rural foreign-born attend school in sufficient numbers to insure that those tested will present a fair cross section of the foreign-stock children and all the major constituent parts of this group?

In the country it rarely happens that a foreign-speaking group is so large and at the same time so compact that its children are served by one school and those of the native stock by another. The schools in the seventy communities visited in the field survey, as well as in the counties from which the intelligence and educational achievement scores were obtained, were found to resemble the average rural schools for the areas in which they were located. They appeared to be neither better nor poorer than the general run of rural schools. In organization, equipment, and programme these schools closely matched those investigated in a survey previously made by the Institute of Social and Religious Research.¹

Those of them in the hamlets and open-country settlements were usually of frame construction and as often as not in poor condition. A great majority were one-room, one-teacher schools, and the teachers were for the most part poorly paid and inadequately trained; that is, they had not completed normal-school work. As in most country schools, the attendance records were below the urban and village average and the terms were shorter. Immigrant children attending village schools were more fortunate, for the village school represents the best that rural education has to offer¹; but for the most part the immigrant farmers' children attend the school of the open country and work under the handicaps that are part of the problem of rural education in the United States, regardless of whether the community is wholly of native stock or part native and part foreign.²

¹*American Agricultural Villages*, chap. 5.

²Speek reports some dissatisfaction among immigrants on this account. Speek, *A Stake in the Land* (Harpers, 1921), p. 197 ff.

The results of the intelligence scores are therefore not likely to be vitiated by considerations of teaching personnel or curriculum content.

As to the second question, the degree to which the children of foreign stock attend school, there were two sources of information—the school-attendance enumeration of the 1920 United States Census and some data gathered in the course of the field work.

The Census study showed that in the years of compulsory school attendance, seven to thirteen inclusive, the response of

TABLE XXV. RURAL SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF CHILDREN OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN PARENTAGE FOR THE UNITED STATES, BY AGE-GROUPS*

AGE-GROUPS	<i>Native Parentage %</i>	NATIVE WHITE OF	
		<i>Mixed Parentage %</i>	<i>Foreign Parentage %</i>
7-13	90.6	93.0	91.7
14 and 15	83.3	81.7	74.8
16 and 17	50.2	42.5	31.9
18-20	17.5	15.1	10.7

*Data from Ross, *School Attendance in the United States*, Tables 47, 51, 54, 57, 1920 Census Monograph V. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1924.

the foreign stock is nearly as good as, or slightly better than, that of the native stock. Indeed, for the rural areas of the United States as a whole, children of mixed foreign and native and of foreign parentage attend school even better than the native stock. This result is due to the concentration of rural immigrants in those states in which compulsory school attendance is more rigorously enforced than elsewhere. The attendance rate is so high that there can be no doubt but that the children of all racial groups are to be found in the school in approximately equal proportions. The best figures for the actual comparison of the two stocks are, therefore, those from the four Census regions in which most of the European rural immigrants are found.

When the years of voluntary attendance are reached, the proportion of rural foreign-stock children in school drops more rapidly than that of the children of native stock. Tables XXV and XXVI summarize the situation.

The facts secured in the field survey tally rather closely with

the Census data. It was found that through the first eight grades of public school the foreign-stock children of all the nationalities represented made practically as good an attendance record as did those of native stock in the communities studied. With but very few exceptions, school superintendents declared that where there were factors adversely affecting the attendance of children these factors affected both native and foreign stock in about equal proportion.

In the present survey, the high-school attendance records, as

TABLE XXVI. RURAL SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF CHILDREN OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN PARENTAGE BY AGE-GROUPS, FOR SELECTED DIVISIONS*

DIVISION	7-13 YEARS		14 AND 15 YEARS		16 AND 17 YEARS	
	NATIVE WHITE OF		NATIVE WHITE OF		NATIVE WHITE OF	
	<i>Native</i> Parentage %	<i>Foreign</i> Parentage %	<i>Native</i> Parentage %	<i>Foreign</i> Parentage %	<i>Native</i> Parentage %	<i>Foreign</i> Parentage %
New England, .	94.0	94.3	83.6	71.5	48.8	30.7
Middle Atlantic	94.3	93.6	83.2	68.8	39.3	21.5
East North Central.	95.0	93.7	84.5	71.1	46.1	26.7
West North Central.	93.8	93.1	86.9	81.6	52.9	37.4

*Data from Ross, *School Attendance in the United States*. Tables 47 51, 54, 57 1920 Census Monograph V. (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1924.)

might be expected from the Census facts already presented, showed more marked variation between regions. In securing these data an effort was also made to compare racial trends. School administrators frequently regard a high-school enrolment that is equal to 25 per cent. of the grade-school enrolment as "normal." If this test be applied, the children of foreign stock in the seventy communities surveyed measure up fairly well in the Middle West, but poorly in the Middle Atlantic region, where the foreign-stock high-school enrolment was only 7.5 per cent. of the number of foreign-stock children in the grades. This may have been partly due to the fact that fewer of the communities studied had high schools. In the Middle West the ratio of high-school to grade-school enrolment was 15.7 per cent. for foreign-stock boys and 20.7 per cent. for girls. Among the various nationalities, the Czechs made the best record exceeding the native stock, as is shown in Table XXVII. Because of the variations in high-school attendance among the

various groups, no intelligence and achievement scores above the eighth grade were used. Below the high-school grade there is nothing in the school situation to vitiate a comparison of the intelligence and achievement of the foreign-stock children with those of native-stock children.

TABLE XXVII. RATIO OF HIGH-SCHOOL ENROLMENT TO GRADE-SCHOOL ENROLMENT FOR NATIVE-STOCK AND FOREIGN-STOCK CHILDREN, IN 41 MIDDLE WEST COMMUNITIES

TYPE OF COMMUNITY*	NATIVE STOCK		FOREIGN STOCK	
	Boys† %	Girls %	Boys† %	Girls %
Total for Area.	17.2	23.0	15.7	20.7
Finnish.	11.5	10.2	7.3	6.8
Swedish.	14.4	27.0	13.3	23.5
Czech.	26.6	30.1	27.6	30.9
Polyglot.	17.9	25.0	17.0	23.4

*Nationalities not mentioned in the table were found only in polyglot communities or were represented by fewer than 100 children.

†These figures indicate that boys go to work at an earlier age than girls do. This is shown also by the fact that foreign-stock boys made up 24.3 per cent. of the entire male high-school enrolment in the Middle West, whereas of the total number of girls 30.2 per cent. were of foreign stock. In the elementary and grade schools, the two groups were practically equal, the boys making up 33.6 per cent. of the enrolment, and the girls 31.3 per cent.

Coming then to the achievement and intelligence tests, it should be stated at the outset that the prime interest of this study was not in their technical results as such but in their sociological implications. Hence the battles waged by the psychologists and school men as to the merits of this test or that, or as to what precisely any of the tests measures, whether "nature or nurture," may be ignored so far as this study is concerned. There appears to be general agreement that the tests measure something, be it achievement or intelligence, innate or acquired ability. The present study is concerned, not with what they measure, but with a comparison of the results when the tests are applied to the native and to the foreign-stock children in rural areas. The results, which are presented for what they are worth, seem to indicate, as has already been stated, that there is little difference between these native and foreign-stock children.

Before examining the data upon which this main conclusion is based, it is necessary to describe the sources of the data and the manner in which they were collected.

It had been hoped that the tests used could be given in many or all of the seventy communities surveyed so as to relate the

results to social and economic conditions. This proved impossible for several reasons. Not all the school systems visited were equipped to coöperate in such an enterprise. Some were not willing to. More important than either of these conditions was the desirability of securing as large a sample as possible under fairly comparable conditions of economic life and school administration within each area selected. After much consultation with state boards of education three counties were therefore selected, two of them in states in which field work was carried on. In two of these counties, these tests were part of studies being carried forward by the schools under university direction, contemporaneously with the Institute's investigation, but the Institute was allowed free access to all data. In the third county, the tests were given at the instance of the Institute and were used afterward by the county school system.

The three counties coöperating were:

(a) Hunterdon Co., New Jersey. The foreign-born population is polyglot in character. Southern and eastern Europeans outnumber northern Europeans $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. In this county there was also information as to language spoken in the home.

(b) Yankton Co., South Dakota. The population is polyglot, with northern Europeans in the majority.

(c) Eau Claire Co., Wisconsin. This population was largely of north European origin.

In addition, two districts in Connecticut that had used these educational tests allowed the Institute access to their data. The nationality of the child's parents was not given in the Connecticut data, division being made simply between native and foreign-born. The names of the children and the testimony of the school authorities indicate that practically all of these foreign-born were southern or eastern European. All told, test material was obtained for nearly 4,000 children, or for nearly 3,000 if the Connecticut scores be eliminated, more than one third of whom were of foreign stock.

In all these areas the so-called Stanford Intelligence Test was used. This Stanford Test is Terman's revision of the well-known Binet test which was "designed primarily to test native intelligence, not school knowledge or home training."³

³Terman, L. M., *The Measurement of Intelligence* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916), p. 36. See also pp. 39 and 51.

In addition to the Stanford, the National Intelligence Test was used in Hunterdon County in some schools, with results closely similar to those obtained from the Stanford.

The net result of the various problems contained in the Stanford Test is a so-called "Intelligent Quotient," often written as an abbreviation, "I. Q." It is the ratio of the mental to the chronological age. The mental age is determined by comparison of any individual's intellectual performance with the normal performance for his age.

It was desired to obtain from these tests answers to two questions:

1. Are children less or more intelligent in proportion to their degree of foreignness?
2. Are the children of Nordic stock more intelligent than those of Slavic or Latin parents?

If children are less intelligent in proportion to their degree of foreignness, it would mean that the I. Q.'s of children of parents born in the United States would be higher than the I. Q.'s of children only one of whose parents was native-born, and that the I. Q.'s of these children in turn would be higher than those of children whose parents were both born in a foreign land.

TABLE XXVIII. BINET TESTS OF ITALIAN AND AMERICAN CHILDREN IN URBAN SCHOOL SYSTEMS

<i>Author</i>	<i>Date of Test</i>	<i>Number of Cases</i>	<i>Median I. Q.</i>	
			<i>American</i>	<i>Italian</i>
Arlitt.	1921	87	106	85
Pintner and Keller.	1922	313	95	84
Brown.	1922	51	—	77.5
Young.	1921	25	—	84
Dickson.	—	?	105	84

The belief, which is rather widely held, that intelligence does vary in just this way is based in part upon studies of the army tests, which showed lower scores for men of south and east European stock than for those of north European or English-speaking stock,⁴ and in part on the tests of city children referred to at the beginning of this chapter. The results of some of these latter tests are summarized in Table XXVIII.

⁴Cf. Kirkpatrick, *Intelligence and Immigration*, chap. II. Adult tests, however, are not generally considered to be as accurate measures of intelligence as tests taken in childhood. See also Introduction.

It may be noted that, with the exception of the second of these studies shown in the table (Pintner and Keller's), the number of cases is so small that the validity of the results cannot escape some question from a statistical point of view. Arlitt went on to examine the I. Q.'s of Italian children compared with those of Americans of the same social class and found median I. Q.'s of eighty-five and ninety-two respectively.

Certainly in the rural counties studied, the comparison of native and foreign-stock children showed much narrower differences than those obtained in the urban studies quoted. Indeed the differences between children of native and of foreign stock, while slightly in favor of the former, were so small as to be statistically insignificant when account is taken of probable error, as well as of the possibility that there may be explanations other than differences in intelligence.

TABLE XXIX. GENERAL I. Q. OF GRADE-SCHOOL CHILDREN BY "FOREIGNNESS OF PARENTS" FOR SEPARATE COUNTIES

COUNTY	PARENTS		PARENTS		PARENTS	
	U. S. OR ENGLISH		I U. S. OR ENG. AND I FOREIGN		BOTH FOREIGN	
	Number Cases	Median I. Q.	Number Cases	Median I. Q.	Number Cases	Median I. Q.
Total.....	1,987	100.0	254	98.5	765	96.0
Hunterdon, N. J.	818	100.0	31	*	409	96.0
Eau Claire, Wis..	726	98.0	157	98.0	74	*
Yankton, S. D...	241	95.0	66	*	125	95.0
Simsburg, Conn..	202	103.0	—	—	157	97.0

*Base less than 100 cases.

The "median" average, that is the mid-case, is used in the comparisons in Table XXIX; but the results by using an arithmetical average show a variation less than 1 per cent. from the median.

If the foreign group be combined with the mixed, the differences between the new group, which is mainly foreign, and the native naturally varies but slightly from the score of the children of foreign-born parents as given in the table.

The question naturally arises as to whether, if the foreign group were broken up, differences between children of north European stock and those of south and east European stock would develop. The answer to this question is found in Table

XXX and Chart I. For all counties combined there were practically no differences between children of Nordic and non-Nordic stock.

TABLE XXX. GENERAL I. Q. OF GRADE-SCHOOL CHILDREN BY RACE AFFILIATION OF PARENTS IN SELECTED RURAL COUNTIES

Parentage	Number of Cases	Median I. Q.
United States and English.....	1,967	100.0
Northern European.....	494*	96.0
Southern and Eastern European.....	498*	96.5

*Children of foreign and mixed parentage are combined following Ross in *School Attendance*, 1920.

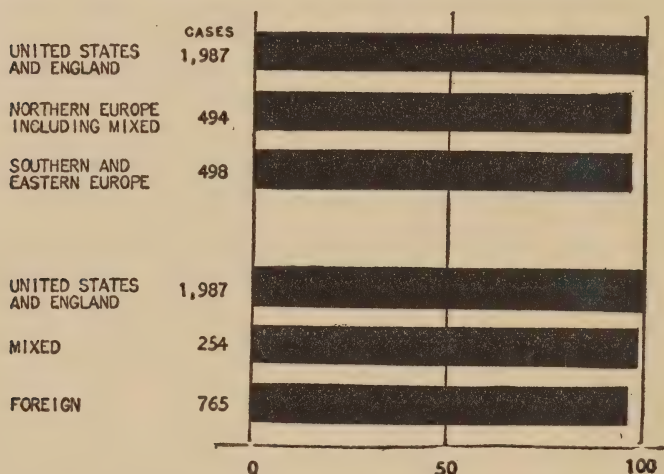


CHART I—Intelligence Quotients of Rural School Children by Parentage (All Counties).

It has already been suggested that environmental differences rather than variations in intelligence might account for the differences found. This hypothesis is strengthened when the results obtained in the counties are separately compared. It will be observed from Table XXIX that the differences among the counties, especially for the children of native-born or English parents, are greater than the differences between children of native and foreign parentage within the same county, or when all counties are considered as a unit.

The only precisely measurable environmental influence is the degree of familiarity with the English language. The effect of this was tested in two ways.

1. By comparing the I. Q.'s of children of Hunterdon County, N. J., according to the language spoken in the home of each child tested. Unfortunately, data of this kind were obtainable for only one county and the sample is therefore small.

2. By comparing the scores in arithmetic and English for the different nationality groups upon the supposition that the former required less knowledge of English to achieve a high score.

Chart II shows that in the county (Hunterdon), where the language spoken in the home is known, children whose parents speak English rate higher by three points than those whose parents speak both English and their native language; and these in turn rate two points higher than children whose parents speak a foreign language only. The children of foreign parents who speak English rate the same as children of native parents. The children whose parents speak a foreign tongue in the home include a larger proportion of southern and eastern Europeans and a smaller proportion of northern Europeans than those whose parents are bilingual. The group of foreign-born, English-speaking parentage have the largest proportion of northern Europeans. While it is possible that the differences disclosed in this chart are due to the large proportion of southern and eastern Europeans in the lower-score group, the small differences in these results, taken in connection with the other data, would tend to show that ability to speak English rather than racial intelligence was the determining factor. Charts I and II, then, taken together, show that all in all there is no difference between northern Europeans and southern and eastern Europeans, but that each of these rates a little lower than the Anglo-American group. Therefore it seems likely that the slight superiority of northern Europeans shown in the Hunterdon group (Chart II) is due to the large proportion of children known to come from homes with English-speaking parents. Of course, it is possible that the other counties have many southern and eastern Europeans speaking English, but the fact that the groups in these counties are known to have settled in

the United States rather recently renders this possibility unlikely.

The final, and perhaps the most conclusive, proof that the differences are probably due to language and not race is found by examining the reading and arithmetic scores. A comparison of Charts I and III shows that the difference in the reading skill of children of native and children of foreign parentage, either northern or southern and eastern European, is nearly the same

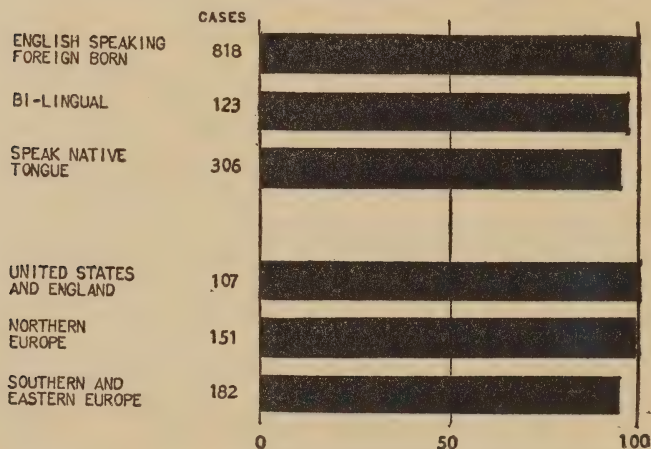


CHART II—Intelligence Quotients of Children Compared by Language Groups and by Parentage (Hunterdon County, N. J.)

as the difference in the general intelligence quotient. On the other hand, the scores made in arithmetic for these three groups are nearly the same. When the comparison is made on the basis of parentage without regard to its European source, much the same result is attained and the variations, though slightly greater, are small in comparison with what might be expected in a sample as large as the one used if there were a sharply defined trend in the direction of a high correlation between ability or intelligence and race. This is shown in Charts III and IV. Hence, in view of the approximately equal scores registered in the arithmetic tests, it seems safe to conclude that familiarity with the English language, rather than differences in intelli-

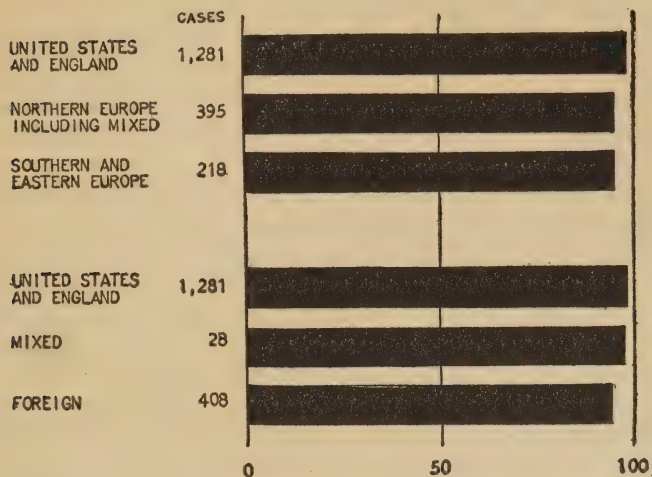


CHART III—Reading Scores of Children by Parentage.

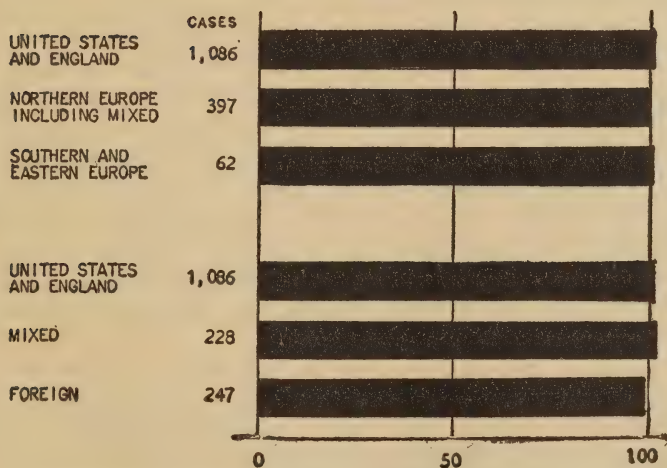


CHART IV—Arithmetic Scores of Children by Parentage

gence, accounts for the slightly lower I. Q. of children of foreign parentage as compared with those of native.⁵

This general conclusion as to the practical equality of the achievement of rural children in the counties studied, regardless of parentage, appears to be strengthened rather than weakened when the data as to grade-status are compared with the normal expectancy for given ages.

Grade-status, as the previous sentence implies, is a term used to designate the grade-standing of a pupil in relation to the normal grade for his age. Thus, the grade-status of a child of eight years in the first grade is two years retarded. In making such a comparison a great deal turns on what definition is given to the term "normal." Some authorities consider pupils normal whose grade-status at any time is not more than half a year retarded or advanced in comparison with normal expectancy.

If this basis is taken, the foreign-born do not make as good a showing as might be expected. While in respect to the proportion of those that are normal there is only a slight difference between the children of the foreign-born and those of the native-born, the former have one fourth more retarded and one fifth fewer advanced students.

In dealing with a rural school situation, it is questionable whether the limits of what is normal should be so sharply restricted. Thus, in two of the counties virtually no children of the foreign-born entered school until they were at least seven years of age, partly because their parents lived far from the school. Obviously, they should not be considered as retarded just because they enter the first grade one year later than the urban normal age. All children have been counted as normal, therefore, that were not advanced or retarded more than nine tenths of a year. On this basis the record of the foreign-parentage group practically equals that of the children of the native-born, as the following figures show.

⁵Cf. Pintner and Keller, *Intelligence Tests of Foreign Children*, Teachers College Press, New York. "We may conclude that children who hear a foreign language at home test lower as a rule when given the revisions of the Binet test than when given tests which require a minimum knowledge of English."

It might be possible to carry this inquiry further by dividing the Hunterdon County children by both race and language spoken in the home, but while this was attempted it was deemed that the samples secured were too small to warrant drawing conclusions, although the results attained were consistent with the general conclusion here stated.

PARENTAGE	TOTAL		RETARDED		NORMAL		ADVANCED	
	Number	Per Cent.	Number	Per Cent.	Number	Per Cent.	Number	Per Cent.
Native-born	1,724	100.0	473	27.4	1,092	63.3	159	9.2
Foreign-born	839	100.0	225	26.8	528	62.9	86	10.3

It may be objected that the children of northern European stock raise the level of the foreign-parentage group. This is not the case, however. Slightly less than 60 per cent. of this group are normal as against 70 per cent. for the children of parents originating in southern and eastern Europe. Similarly, there was only half as much retardation in this latter group as compared with the former.

A question as to the inner consistency of the data may arise here, to wit: Are the children with low intelligence quotients those who are retarded, and are those with average or superior scores in the intelligence tests the children whose grade-status is normal or advanced? The answer is an emphatic affirmative. Among those children with an I. Q. of 110 or over, only two of the native group and one of the foreign-parentage group were in any way retarded. In each group a considerable majority were advanced. Conversely, of the children ranked "inferior" in intelligence, that is, those having an I. Q. of 89 or less, only 5 per cent. of the foreign group and 6 per cent. of the native-parentage group were found to be advanced beyond their normal grade-status; and a considerable majority of each group, seven tenths and two thirds respectively, were retarded. The average intelligence groups both of native-born and of foreign-born parentage showed the highest proportion of children occupying the normal grade-status. As an added check, intelligence quotients and grade-status were correlated. The result was a positive coefficient of .928 \pm .006. It would appear, therefore, that the results of these comparisons are consistent within themselves.

This chapter, then, has set forth the results of several attempts made in this investigation to determine whether children are less intelligent in proportion to their degree of foreignness, and whether the children of Nordic stock are more intelligent than those of Slavic or Latin parents. The unavoidable conclusion is that at least in the school systems in which the tests used were applied the child of the foreigner, regardless of the

country of origin of his parents, makes practically as good a record as the native-stock child in the rural schools. The differences in the intelligence quotients were found to be so slight as to suggest that the degree of familiarity with the English language accounted for the differences. Similarly foreign-stock children kept up with their grade practically as well as the native child. No evidence could be discovered that would indicate that foreign-stock children are likely either to raise or to lower the general intellectual level of their communities.

Whether these results are due to the quality of the rural school, or to the daily association of the children of both races in the school, and of their parents in the community to a far greater degree than is likely in an urban community with its little Italy, Poland, and the like, is here immaterial. Nor need we inquire whether the explanation lies in some still less tangible quality, such as the calibre of the native-born on the land and of the foreign-born attracted to it. What is important is the virtual equality of the groups studied. And since this is a purely rural study, it deals with children from occupational groups both fewer in number and with less diversity in occupational experience than an urban study would.

Chapter IV

INTERMARRIAGE

The status of the immigrant farmers in this country has been shown only in part by the facts already presented in this study. When we know that they are successful agriculturists, and that they possess intelligence equal to that of the native stock according to tests of their children, we know only a part of the story. How intimately do they become identified with the community life peculiar to our rural areas? It is important to know this; and in a broad way this may be shown by the extent to which they contribute to the melting-pot processes by intermarriage, and by the nature and extent of their participation in certain community activities.

First to be considered is their intermarriage with people of native stock.¹ Intermarriage is a most important social factor. It is not, of course, an absolute test of so-called Americanization. There are groups within the United States, such as the Pennsylvania-German, that have maintained some of their foreign customs, have even to some extent retained their foreign speech, and for generations have tended to marry with their own kind, yet who are wholly American in the social organization of their communities. Nevertheless, it may be taken for granted that the process of racial and cultural assimilation of an immigrant is hastened by marriage to a person whose parents are native-born. Obviously, if an Italian marries an Italian, the cultural background, and for some years perhaps even the language, of the home will be Italian. If an Italian marries the descendent of one of the Pilgrim fathers, the culture and traditions of New England will inevitably influence the organization and atmosphere of the new home. If an Italian unites with a Pole, the very diversity of the background of hus-

¹The tabulation and analysis of the great mass of source data on which this chapter rests were made under the direction of Miss Estella T. Weeks; and the author wishes to take this opportunity to acknowledge his indebtedness to her.

band and wife, meeting in a new environment, may make for a more rapid adoption of the American mode than if the two were of the same nationality. The extent to which people of the foreign-stock farm population choose members of the native-stock group as partners in marriage should throw some light on the degree to which the solidarity of the foreign group is breaking down, and also on the degree to which its members have become socially acceptable to the natives. This hypothesis underlies a study of the marriages of the rural foreign-born in more than one hundred agricultural counties in three states, a study in which an answer was sought to the question: Whom does the rural immigrant marry?

The answer is that he is most likely to marry another immigrant of his own race or the American-born child of such an immigrant. This type of marriage is called "in-choice." Failing this, his choice is likely to fall upon a native-stock American or, lastly, upon either an immigrant of another race or the American-born child of such an immigrant.² These two choices are called "out-choice" and "inter-choice" respectively.

Sons of immigrants born in this country show tendencies quite similar to those of the foreign-born; but they are more than twice as likely to marry the daughter of American-born parents as are the immigrants; and, by the same token, they are less likely to unite with foreign-stock brides.

The tendency for both the foreign-born and the native-born sons of foreign parents to marry native-stock Americans seems to be increasing. To-day such marriages are twice as frequent as they were before the World War.

These tendencies vary somewhat according to the racial group to which the foreign stock belong. The tendency of men from northern Europe and their sons to marry native-stock women is much greater than that of southern Europeans. Among the northern Europeans, out-choice is most frequent among the Anglo-Saxons, owing to the absence of any language barrier between them and the native stock.

In the main, these tendencies are duplicated among the women of foreign birth or foreign parentage, except that there is less out-choice. This slightly less marked tendency on the

²As was pointed out in Chapter I, any person has been considered to be of native stock who is the child of native-born parents.

part of the women is to be expected because there are five men for every four women among the rural immigrants.

SOURCES OF THE DATA

Before examining the detailed data on which these generalizations are based, it is important to describe briefly the source from which they were secured. To compare the marriage tendencies of immigrants with those of their children, it was necessary to find some way of identifying those of foreign parentage. It was found that the marriage-license applications of three states, Nebraska, Wisconsin, and New York, required the necessary listing of the birthplaces of the parents of the contracting parties as well as those of the principals themselves.³ Arrangements were made with the proper authorities in each of these states to copy from the records for rural counties all the applications in which either of the contracting parties was foreign-born, or in which both the parents of either were foreign-born. In Nebraska, data were secured from sixty all-rural counties. In the case of New York and Wisconsin, which furnished twenty-nine and twenty-one all-rural, or nearly all-rural, counties respectively, applications showing the residence of both the contracting parties to have been in communities of over 2,500 were eliminated. The sample was therefore entirely rural, and the facts on a total of 44,643 marriage license applications were secured. These were almost equally divided between the pre-war and post-war periods, 1908 to 1912 and 1921 to 1925.⁴ Of those marriages, exactly 57.5 per cent. were from New York state, and the remainder were almost equally divided between the two Western states.⁵

So far as could be discovered, this is the first time such a study had been made for rural America. The states selected are the only ones in which information of the sort described is available. The data are, therefore, unique and absolutely original.⁶

³Wisconsin unfortunately discontinued this practice in 1925.

⁴In the case of Nebraska the pre-war years were 1909 to 1913 inclusive. In Wisconsin the post-war years were 1920 to 1924.

⁵The larger number of marriages in New York state is due to differences in topography, size of farm, and size of county. Farms are smaller in New York than in the two Western states, and the hilly topography of New York made for a greater number of more compact communities.

⁶A somewhat similar study was made by the late Julius Drachsler, Ph.D., for New York City, for the years 1908-1912 inclusive (*Intermarriage in New York City*, Colum-

Although this study is primarily concerned with immigrant farmers, the grooms of other occupations than agriculture were not excluded from the records taken because much of the non-agricultural employment in all-rural territory is distinctly rural and directly serves the farmer. However, farming was the leading occupation of the grooms in two of the three states and in the total group.⁷

It will be noticed that nothing has been said of the occupation of the brides. Though information was secured on this point, it was not summarized because of the expense. The same factor prevented the use of other data gathered, some of which lay outside the problem set for this study.⁸

Table XXXI shows the distribution of the grooms in these 44,643 marriages according to the pre-war or post-war period, and according to the degree of foreignness; the foreign-born being designated as I, the native-born of foreign parentage as II, and the native-born of native parentage as III. This is a master-table which summarizes most of the story of these

bia University Press, New York, 1921. See also *Democracy and Assimilation* by the same author, Macmillan, New York, 1920). Prof. Drachsler's chief interest was in the intermarriage of various European peoples with one another. His study of out-marriage was limited to Jews and Negroes. It is not possible, therefore, to compare the New York City results with those obtained for the rural areas studied in the present investigation.

⁷The proportion of gainfully employed grooms in each of the chief occupations for the three states is set forth in the table that follows:

Occupation	Nebraska		Wisconsin		New York	
	1909-13	1921-25	1908-12	1920-24	1908-12	1921-25
Agriculture.....	57.9	63.9	55.5	58.0	30.5	23.7
Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries...	6.9	8.6	13.0	15.8	28.3	31.4
Trade.....	4.8	5.0	4.1	13.1	6.1	8.8
All Other.....	30.4	22.5	27.4	13.1	35.1	36.1

In New York the "All Other" includes 16.7 per cent. devoted to transportation and 9.6 per cent. who classified themselves as laborers. In a number of the New York counties it is known that many foreign-born have another occupation besides farming at which they work while paying for the farm or in order to supplement their income. Since farming is seasonal and often carried on after regular work hours, it is probable that a considerable proportion of those reported as non-agriculturists were also farmers. So, too, many of the laborers may have been farm hands.

⁸It is hoped that some agency can make these data fully available. They are unique in character and scope and complete for the only states in the Union that secure information as to birthplace of the parents of bride and groom. Information gathered for each marriage was: year of marriage, age and occupation of bride and of groom, marital status of each, number of times previously married, country of birth of bride and of groom and of the parents of each.

grooms, and which holds the clues to the questions about the marriages of rural immigrants and their children.

TABLE XXXI. NUMBER OF GROOMS STUDIED, BY STATES, PERIODS, AND DEGREES OF FOREIGNNESS*

MARRIAGE GROUP	NEBRASKA		WISCONSIN		NEW YORK	
	1909-13	1921-25	1908-12	1920-24	1908-12	1921-25
Foreign-born (I).....	1,000	736	1,845	967	4,240	3,424
Native-born of Foreign Parentage (II).....	1,569	4,193	4,552	821	5,344	6,446
Native-born of Native Parentage (III)†....	527	1,485	930	348	2,784	3,432

DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIAGES BY DEGREE OF FOREIGNNESS

Groom with Bride

I—I.....	734	327	796	400	2,505	1,526
I—II.....	204	254	875	103	932	1,100
I—III†.....	62	155	174	464	803	798
II—I.....	89	130	354	47	572	606
II—II.....	966	2,285	3,180	600	2,286	2,711
II—III†.....	514	1,778	1,018	174	2,486	3,129
III—I.....	38	86	72	241	589	570
III†—II.....	489	1,399	858	107	2,195	2,862

*For the most part other tables will be omitted in this chapter but detailed tables on which the material in the chapter is based will be found in Appendix B.

†Native-born grooms of native parentage (III's) are included in this table only by reason of their marriage to foreign-born women (I's) or the children of foreign-born (II's). Native-born brides are included for the same reason.

The data will be considered first of all from the point of view of the present post-war period according to the three choices open to the groom as noted above, marriage to one of his own racial stock, or in-choice; to one of European stock, other than his own, or inter-choice; and finally, marriage to a native-born bride of native parents, or out-choice.

The discussion of in-choice and inter-choice is based on the same nationality grouping that was used in Chapter II. In other words, the measurement of these two choices is in terms, not of specific nationalities, such as Germans, Swiss, and the like, but of the more inclusive groups already mentioned. Thus, the marriage of a German and a Hollander would in this study be regarded as in-choice, both being included in the Teutonic group. This was necessary because of the very small number of cases by which some of the smaller nations were represented.

In-choice represents what might be considered the normal

expectancy. Those who do not stray beyond the frontiers of their own country are almost certain to marry one of their own kind. In a foreign land an immigrant, it may be supposed, would naturally desire a mate who spoke his language and had shared his background.

The figures on in-choice are in line with this supposition. Nearly two thirds of the foreign-born grooms in Nebraska and New York, and nearly half of those in Wisconsin, married persons of their own racial stock, either immigrants or the daughters of immigrants, in the first five years of the present decade. For the total group, the proportion is about three fifths. Indeed, if there is any element of surprise in these figures, it is not that so many married their own kind but that so few did. This evidence of the operation of the other choices lends interest to the findings on inter-choice and out-choice.

Before proceeding to these, however, it is necessary to carry the analysis of the in-choice of foreign-born grooms one step further. As defined, in-choice includes marriage either to another immigrant of the same racial group as the groom or to the American-born child of such an immigrant. The latter would not be of the same degree of foreignness as the groom but of the same racial stock. As between these two choices, the immigrant prefers another immigrant. This was the case in three marriages out of five in Nebraska and New York and in four out of five in Wisconsin. These proportions seem somewhat low in view of the probable differences in age between the foreign-born and the children of foreign-born. The explanation probably lies in several factors. Some of these marriages doubtless occurred between immigrants who entered the United States while very young and the native-born children of immigrants living in the same community. Again, as was shown in the first chapter, the number of male immigrants considerably exceeded the number of females, whereas among the native-born of foreign parentage the distribution of the sexes is more nearly even. Thus, the foreign-born were forced to consider other than actual immigrants, and their second choice fell upon the daughters of the second generation. It is also true that many of these marriages represented the second or third matrimonial adventure of the groom, the first wife having succumbed to the rigors of pioneer farming.

Inter-choice, as has already been indicated, is the least attractive possibility for the immigrant. He prefers a native-stock American to the foreigner of a racial group other than his own. He exercises inter-choice in only one case out of eight. Inter-choice is limited, too, by the number of nationality groups available. Obviously, it will be higher in a polyglot community than in a colony limited to a single nationality. The significance of inter-choice is limited also by the number of nationalities any given racial group united with. If Italians, for instance, should tend to choose none but Slavs when intermarrying with non-Latin peoples, the advantage from inter-choice, as opposed to in-choice, might tend to diminish; and inter-choice confined to but one nationality might make, not for the diffusion of Italian characteristics, but for the emergence of an Italian-Slavic type that might conceivably be more difficult to assimilate than either parent nationality. The question of the breadth of inter-choice was therefore studied; and in this case the five racial groups were discarded in favor of the actual nationalities concerned.

The average number of nationalities chosen by any given nationality of foreign-born grooms was about two in the Western states and 4.4 in New York, when the marriage was between two immigrants. Where, however, the foreign-born groom was uniting with the American-born daughter of foreign parents, the average range of choice increased to about 2.5 in the Western states and to six in New York. The higher density of the rural population, and the greater number of nationalities represented, explain the wider range of selection in New York state. Narrow as the choice is in the West, it broadens, as in the East, when the possibility to do so offers; and there is no indication of specialized selection.

But it is out-choice that is perhaps the most interesting of the choices open to the grooms; for it is this sort of marriage that gives some indication of the extent to which the amalgamation of foreign races and nationalities with the native stock is taking place in rural America.

In Nebraska and New York, more than one in five of the immigrant grooms married the daughters of native-born Americans in the first half of the present decade. In Wisconsin, the proportion was almost one half. Group solidarity must

have broken down to a considerable degree to make this possible. Even granting that many of these brides were the grandchildren of immigrants, which is probable but not demonstrable, the amount of out-choice seems high; for, with certain exceptions, the average person of the third generation is likely to be quite American in language and behavior.

SONS OF IMMIGRANTS

In view of these facts about the foreign-born, it is to be expected that the native-born sons of immigrants would show less in-choice and a higher degree of either inter-choice or out-choice or both. This turns out to be the case. Somewhat less than half the American-born grooms of foreign parentage in Nebraska and Wisconsin married persons of their own nationality group, whether immigrants or the children of immigrants. In New York the proportion was slightly more than one third. In other words, as compared with the immigrants themselves, the sons in the Western states showed a tendency to choose one of their own nationality group only two thirds as frequently, and in New York only about half as often.⁹

The sons of immigrants were also more apt than the foreign-born men to select wives of the same degree of foreignness as themselves. In the Western states, those sons who married within their own group chose the daughter of immigrants ten times out of eleven. In New York, this ratio while not as high, was more than four out of five.

The smaller amount of in-choice among these native sons of aliens resulted in only a slightly higher proportion of inter-choice. This occurred in one sixth of the cases in Nebraska and New York, and in three tenths in Wisconsin.

It is apparent, therefore, that out-choice is sharply higher among these natives of foreign parentage than among the immigrant grooms. In Nebraska and New York, the out-choice was exercised in nearly every other one of the sons' marriages.¹⁰

⁹If the proportion of in-choice be reckoned after eliminating from the computation those who out-marry, the degree of in-choice naturally rises sharply. For the immigrants it ranges from 82 to 88 per cent.; for the sons, from 63 to 78 per cent. This is just another way of showing that if persons of foreign birth or immediate foreign ancestry marry foreign stock persons they greatly prefer those of their own race.

¹⁰In Wisconsin, where the sample was very small—821 cases as against 4,193 in Nebraska and 6,446 in New York—out-choice was only one fifth, less than half the ratio among the foreign-born. This is due to a peculiar racial situation.

In the total sample, out-choice among the sons was twice as frequent as among the immigrants. Obviously it is easier for the melting-pot to dissolve the feeling of racial solidarity of the foreign stock than of the foreigner. This is but natural. These native-born sons have no language barrier to overcome. They mingle with the children of the natives in school and in the workaday world. Frequently they desire to have done with all things foreign.

But these figures must be qualified in two ways. As in the case of the marriages of foreign-born grooms to the daughters of natives, it must be admitted that these brides may be the grandchildren of aliens. Indeed, the unmistakably foreign names of a number of these native-stock brides pointed in that direction. In Petersburg, Va., as the case study in Part II shows, the third-generation foreigners were still regarded as aliens, socially at least, by the descendants of the colonial stock who dominated the community. Indeed, in none of the communities described in Part II was the intermarriage of foreign and native stock very frequent, but factors of race and geographical isolation are partial explanations of this. It must be stressed, therefore, that the mere fact of marriage to the native child of native parents does not insure the establishment of a home untinged by the influence of foreign culture. This is amply shown also by the Pennsylvania Germans who for two centuries have maintained their peculiar dialect and some of their customs in five of the most prosperous counties of the Keystone State. Only within the last decade, under the pressure of the influences that make for standardization throughout America, has the solidarity of this group begun to show signs of rapid disintegration. While exceptional, this sort of situation undoubtedly plays some part in hindering the unions of foreign with native stock.

The second qualification is a reminder that although out-choice among the sons was considerable, and because of the quota law was likely to increase, it nevertheless did not involve in any state as much as one half of the marriages. In-choice and inter-choice combined were in a majority; which means that even among these native-born sons of immigrants, the call to that which was foreign was answered more often than not.

This whole matter of in-choice is of considerable importance to those organizations that deal with immigrants and their

children; especially, therefore, to the Church. The effect of in-choice is to carry on in another generation the Old-World culture and habits brought by the immigrants. Some churches, especially before the World War, more or less deliberately sought to foster in-choice and preserve racial traditions. The very names of some of them, such as the Swedish Lutheran and the German Methodists, indicate this. Other churches, especially of the non-liturgical group, have endeavored to break down the feeling of "foreignness." Increasingly the work of this group has been with the native-born children of immigrants, but this study of marriage seems to indicate, even among these, a preference for the foreign rather than the native type of home. This fact is important also in determining whether the native-born of foreign parentage shall be classed as foreign or native, or whether they should at least be kept in a category by themselves. The practice, for instance, of the New York State Board of Health in classing this group as natives along with those of native parentage would appear under the circumstances to be open to question.¹¹

The forces that make for the extent of conservatism here revealed are doubtless many. The intensive studies in Part II give a few clues, as do reports of the field surveyors. In the first place, there is the definite desire of some immigrant groups to retain their foreignness. These ask of America, not a home, but an opportunity to win fortune in the hope of spending the rest of their days in their motherland. Again, there is marked prejudice among the native-born against union with foreigners. This feeling, which extends to other aspects of community life, emphasizes differences of religion, where they exist, and of habits and ideals. It makes the native-born children of foreigners conscious of their unlikeness and throws them back upon their own group, as is especially described in the case study of Sunderland in Part II. It is evident that there are two conflicting forces at work in rural America, one making for in-choice and inter-choice, the other for out-choice. The pro-

¹¹See nativity classification in Table 51, p. 426, and Table 22, p. 74, of forty-second annual report for New York State Department of Health, year ending December 31, 1921 (*Vol. II Vital Statistics*), which give marriages classified by color and nativity of bride and groom. These are divided into two groups and classified as "United States" and "Foreign Country." The same classification in the prior tabulation for the years 1916-1918 combined and for 1919 is used, see *First Report on Marriage Statistics in New York State*, pp. 12 to 116.

portionate strength of each has been described; which one becomes dominant in a particular situation is doubtless determined by the composite of all the elements in that situation; and while, as will be shown, the tendency toward out-choice is gaining among both the foreign-born and the children of immigrants, and while the extent of out-choice discovered was considerably more than was anticipated from the data secured in the field surveys, it is, however, rather less than one would imagine from a reading of the literature of those "Americanization" agencies which concentrate their programmes so hopefully upon the "second generation."

INFLUENCE OF RACE

It may be objected that out-choice in marriage is a phenomenon largely confined to certain racial groups, such as the Anglo-Saxon and other Nordics. It was decided, therefore, to examine out-choice by nationality groups. In examining the variations by nationality, the same general cultural groups of nationalities are used that have been employed elsewhere in the study, namely Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, Teutonic, Slavic, and Latin.

It was assumed that the foreign countries grouped under each of these heads have a high degree of cultural similarity. This assumption was considered statistically safe in connection with these data because in most groups one nation considerably exceeded all others in the number of grooms. Thus the Latins, except for the few hundred Belgians and French in the West, were almost all Italians. The Teutonic group was made up overwhelmingly of Germans; the Slavic, of Poles in New York and of Czecho-Slovaks in the West. The Anglo-Saxon group is the chief exception; Canadians and English predominate, but are about equal in strength. This is also true of the Swedes and Norwegians among the Scandinavians, which group includes, however, only the Danish in addition.

As the division between the foreign-born and the sons of foreign-born is not important when it is desired to discover the tendencies of racial groups, the figures of both have been combined on this point. As Table XXXII indicates, Anglo-Saxons are more likely than any other group to marry native brides. This is to be expected, since there is no language barrier in such combinations. The Scandinavian and Teutonic group follow

the Anglo-Saxon in this particular. The Slavic and Latin show least out-choice; and conversely, therefore, more in-choice. This is partly because these groups belong to the new immigration and are not as well adjusted to American rural life as are the northern Europeans. As will be shown later, these southern and eastern European races show as much (or more) out-choice for the first half of the present decade as did the Scandinavians and Teutons in the pre-war period. Length of residence, then, is undoubtedly one of the factors that explain the lower proportion of out-choice among Slavic and Latin groups.

TABLE XXXII. OUT-CHOICE OF GROOMS,* BY NATIONALITY GROUPS DURING THE POST-WAR PERIOD

<i>Nationality</i>	NEBRASKA 1921-25		WISCONSIN 1920-24		NEW YORK 1921-25	
	<i>Total Cases†</i>	<i>Per Cent. Out-choice</i>	<i>Total Cases†</i>	<i>Per Cent. Out-choice</i>	<i>Total Cases†</i>	<i>Per Cent. Out-choice</i>
Anglo-Saxon	685	62.9	112	43.8	3,665	52.8
Scandinavian	1,022	38.2	464	36.4	437	55.6
Teutonic	2,307	39.3	705	38.9	3,186	43.8
Slavic	855	20.9	425	28.7	1,088	9.5
Latin	60	43.3‡	82	29.3‡	1,494	16.9

*Immigrants and sons of immigrants combined.

†The figures given under "Total Cases" make it possible for anyone interested to determine the relative importance of any given racial group in the total number of foreign-born and foreign-stock groomers.

‡Base less than 100.

The degree of intermarriage for the various racial groups shows but a small deviation from the average for the entire number of foreign-born and sons of immigrants; but there are certain nationalities that exhibit a wider range of choice than others in the selection of mates. For instance, in rural New York foreign-born Canadian groomers intermarry with ten nationalities of brides, Swedes with eight, Germans with thirteen, Czechoslovakians with seven, Italians with ten. In Wisconsin, the Germans were found to have united with fifteen other nationalities, ten of which were outside the Teutonic group. The Scandinavians present one interesting variation in trend within a single racial group. In Wisconsin, where these people are numerous and somewhat concentrated, the rate of in-choice is high, out-choice is low, and few nationalities are represented in their inter-choices. In New York, where they are fewer in number and much more scattered as to location, in-choice is low, out-

choice is even higher than among the Anglo-Saxons, as Table XXXII shows, and inter-choices, as has just been stated, cover a wide range.

BRIDES

Thus far this chapter has dealt with the marriage tendencies of male immigrants and native-born sons of immigrants in the first half of the present decade. Later on these present facts and the tendencies they reveal will be compared with the situation that existed before the opening of the World War. But before this is done, the data for the brides of these recent years will be examined to discover whether or not immigrant brides and the native-born daughters of immigrants show any marked differences from the grooms.

The most noticeable departure from the tendencies among the grooms is in the matter of in-choice, especially in the two Western states. About two thirds of the foreign-born brides and one half the daughters married those of their own racial group, as against less than three fifths and less than one half respectively for the foreign-born and foreign-stock grooms. There is also more in-choice among the New York brides than among the grooms, although the differences are not as great as in the Western states.

The reason for this has already been hinted at. There are many more foreign-born men than women in rural America. Obviously, therefore, there is far less necessity, other things being equal, for the woman to marry outside her own group than for the man. A much higher proportion of alien women than men also unite with men of the same degree of foreignness as themselves. Among the second generation, this tendency is not so strong; because, as already noted, a number of these foreign-stock women are the second or third wives of immigrants.

There is also slightly more of a tendency for the foreign-born and foreign-stock women to exercise inter-choice than for the men to do so. The average number of nationalities chosen by any given nationality is also fractionally higher among the brides than among the grooms, except in New York. All of this reduces the proportion of out-choice among the women to less than one fifth in Nebraska and New York, and one third in

Wisconsin. But as with the grooms, the proportion of out-choice varies with the various nationality groups, being highest among the Anglo-Saxons and lowest among the brides from southern and eastern Europe, with the two northern European groups falling between.

THE PRE-WAR PERIOD

The marriage tendencies of foreign-born and foreign-stock persons in the first half decade following the passage of the Quota Law restricting immigration to the United States, show an appreciable amount of union between these persons and those who are classed by the Census as native-born of native parentage. It has been suggested that because of the Quota Law this intermarriage is likely to continue and increase. But it is not possible from these figures alone to establish any trends or to discover whether there has been an ever-increasing tendency for foreign racial strains to mingle with the native through marriage. Some answer to this question can be obtained by an examination of the marriage-license records procured from the same states for the five years before the opening of the World War. In a word, the comparison of the pre-war with the post-war period shows a decided tendency among both brides and grooms, immigrants and children of immigrants alike, for the proportion of in-choice to decrease and for inter-choice and especially out-choice to increase. The data that have been presented thus far do not, therefore, picture a static situation but, when viewed in the light of the past, an accelerating tendency for the breaking down of the social cohesiveness of the alien groups.

Thus, in-choice among the foreign-born grooms was exercised in three fourths of the marriages in the pre-war period as against three fifths in the post-war. Among the foreign-born grooms who united with other than native-stock brides, there was also a much greater tendency to marry other foreign-born instead of the daughters of immigrants, than there was after the war. Intermarriage took place in one tenth of the cases before the World War, as against one eighth afterward. But the contrast is most striking when out-marriage is considered. In the early period, this choice was exercised in only 6.2 per cent. of the cases in Nebraska, 9.4 per cent. in Wisconsin, and 18.9 per cent. in New York. Even the highest proportion, that in

New York, was exceeded by the lowest in the post-war years. Out-marriage among the foreign-born increased more than three and one half fold in Nebraska, fivefold in Wisconsin, and even in New York, where it had been higher than elsewhere before the war, it rose by nearly one fourth. All these contrasts are shown in Chart V, and in greater detail in the tables in Appendix 3.

Similar results were discovered when the pre-war marriages of the sons of immigrants were studied. About 55 per cent. elected to in-choice in Nebraska and Wisconsin, a figure 10 points higher than in the post-war years. In New York, the difference was not as great; yet in this state in-choice dropped from 38.8 per cent. to 34.5 per cent. Inter-choice figures showed but a slight difference. Out-choice, obviously, was lower in the earlier half decade than in the one just closed, just as in-choice was higher, though the difference in New York was less than 4 per cent. and in Wisconsin there was a slight tendency against the trend owing to the influx of Slavs into the counties studied. In Nebraska, however, out-choice among the sons was less than one third as against more than two fifths in the post-war period. The discrepancy between the immigrants and the sons of immigrants in the matter of out-choice was, however, even more pronounced in the earlier period than in the later. The younger group was from two and one half to five times

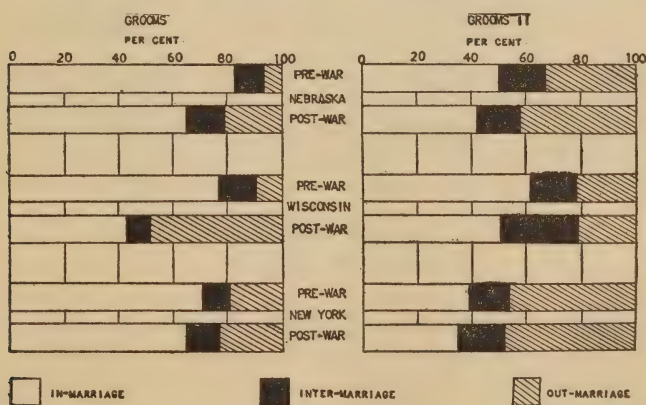


CHART V—In, Inter, and Out-Marriage of Grooms by States and Periods

more likely than the older group to marry a native-stock bride, as Chart V shows, whereas the spread was but twofold in the later five years. Appendix tables present details.

It may be contended that the question of the availability of foreign-born women conditions out-choice to such a degree as to vitiate the conclusions advanced here and later. This is not so, as the Census figures show. For both the foreign-born and the children of immigrants, there were relatively more women in proportion to men in 1920 than in 1910. Therefore, in spite of the greater availability of foreign-stock women, out-choice increased.

Nationality differences affected out-choice before the war exactly as afterwards. The greatest amount occurred among the Anglo-Saxons, other northern Europeans came next, and the Slavic and Latin groups last. The differences noted between the two periods for the total group were, however, noticeable in every nationality group.¹² This means that the increase in out-

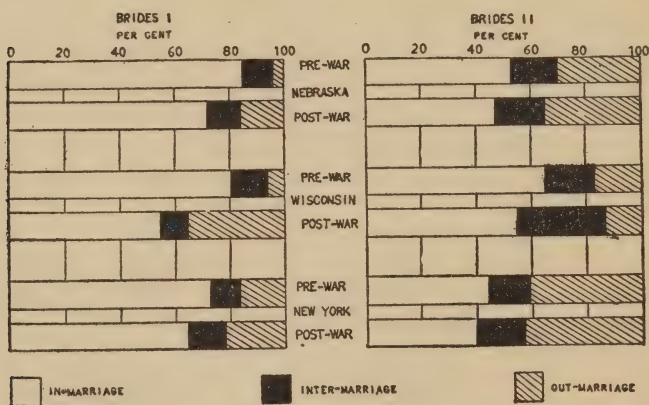


CHART VI—In, Inter, and Out-Marriage of Brides by States and Periods.

choice in the post-war as compared with the pre-war period is not a matter of any one group of the foreign-born, but that all are sharing in it.

The very small proportion of out-choice in the two Western

¹²The brides shared in all these tendencies and reacted in the same way as the grooms, showing throughout the greater tendency toward in-choice. See Chart VI.

states in years as recent as 1908-1913 is clear evidence of the group solidarity of the northern Europeans in the Middle West. It makes more vivid the reasons for the fears often expressed in the years before and after the Civil War that these Nordics were likely to build, socially at least, a foreign state along the middle border. No such foreign influence was feared in New York state with its smaller farms, its many villages, and more polyglot population, and the relatively small number of foreign-born in its rural areas. All rural people were isolated in the days before the automobile, the hard-surfaced or gravelled road, the radio, and the free delivery; and in addition they often lived in colonies without opportunity to learn American ways of farming and living either from agricultural and home demonstration agents or other persons. These Western Scandinavians and Teutons were in this situation and had little opportunity for the kind of social intercourse that leads to intimacy and marriage with the native stock. To a degree hardly realized now, all improvements just mentioned, along with others like the spread of consolidated schools, have come to rural America within the last fifteen years, since the close of the pre-war period. The effect of these and other social influences in the breaking down of group solidarity has been registered within a decade in the decline of in-choice and the increase in out-choice among both the children of immigrants and the immigrants themselves. Among the forces bringing this about must doubtless also be reckoned the World War. Despite the Ku Klux Klan and those exponents of 100 per cent. Americanism to whom the possession of foreign blood is a bar sinister, unless it be six or more generations old, the contribution of the foreign-born and their children to the American army not only broke down some of the prejudice against them but gave to them a greater sense of belonging to America than they had possessed before.

Chapter V

SOCIAL LIFE

Immigrants who take up farming in this country nearly always find the problem of social adjustment difficult because of their homeland training and customs; often because of their language and religion when these are different from those of their adopted communities; not unfrequently because of geographic isolation; and sometimes because they settle among people who are indifferent toward them, or even hostile.

COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT KINDS

Immigrant communities in this country differ in many ways because these retarding influences are not everywhere of the same force and effect, and because they are not by any means all at work everywhere. Different communities also represent different stages in the general process of adjustment, because the immigrants have been longer on the land in some places than in others.

A NEW ENGLAND COMMUNITY

Thus the Poles of Sunderland (see Part II) found land in a community already well peopled, and did not settle in a colony by themselves. Coming directly from Ellis Island, or after the briefest of periods as laborers, they knew little of the English language. Their experience exposed them to exploitation by the natives, and their stolid resistance aroused hostility. Trained in unremitting toil, they undertook tasks to which no native would bend his back; and on acquiring land they enlisted the labor of the entire family. This complete absorption of the family in the economic struggle reacted on their home life and the care of the home. There was no time nor money for what the native group considered the necessary niceties of life, and the low standard of living of the Poles emphasized the presence of an alien group in the community and strengthened the

obstacles in the way of adjustment between the two groups. Therefore these foreign-born had no chance to enter the social life of the community; and they proceeded to raise the barriers against themselves still higher by establishing organizations of their own, including a Catholic church. Fortunately, their lack of geographic isolation enabled them the more quickly to learn English, a process facilitated by the compulsory attendance of their children upon the one social institution open to them, the school; and, as the years went by, their economic success began slowly to wear away the opposition of the native-born.

A COMMUNITY IN THE MIDDLE WEST

In Askov (see Part II), on the other hand, most of the Danes had acquired their farms after living for a few years in America. Their settlement was geographically isolated and definitely organized by and for Danes. Trained in coöperation, they formed a community motivated by the spirit, and controlled by the practice, of the kind of coöperation that had made their motherland the most successful of agricultural countries. But they were none the less Americans; and they created a community in which they could add to what America offered some of those customs and practices of their homeland worth perpetuating in their new location. Their newspaper is printed in English; their school is thoroughly modern. There are virtually no persons of native stock in Askov; but however Danish the community may be, as for instance in its church, it is recognized in its county as progressively American. As a community, it set out to reduce and remove all obstacles to free traffic between itself and others, and thus the influence of its geographic isolation has been overcome.

A COMMUNITY LONG ESTABLISHED

A somewhat similar geographic situation, though the community is markedly different, is shown by Litchfield. Four-score years ago a transcontinental railroad, pushing across the prairies of Minnesota, was planting town sites with the regularity with which an automatic planting machine to-day drops kernels of corn into that same prairie. To one of these towns-to-be, marked but by a water tower and a box-car station, came

some Swedes. Trained in the hard school of the agricultural depression then gripping their native country, they built a bit of old Sweden in a new land. With no neighbors, they continued to speak their mother tongue. Their church, too, was Swedish to the core. Lacking contact with the native-born, the customs and ways of old Sweden were perpetuated in social life, in religion, even for some time in education through the parochial school. The community became a part of that great unassimilated northern European immigration that in the quarter century from 1850 to 1875 caused much concern to the older Americans of the seaboard states who feared that it threatened to build a foreign state on the western frontier.

The effect of this obstacle of isolation to complete adjustment to American life is still seen in this community and in many like it. Thoroughly modern and indeed progressive as Litchfield is to-day, Swedish is still heard on its streets and in some of its church services. There are few who do not speak English with an accent. One fifth of the people are foreign-born, nearly half are of foreign parentage, and more than half the remainder are the grandchildren of immigrants.

AN EXPERIMENT IN COLONIZATION

Strikingly different are the conditions in the immigrant settlement of Castle Hayne, North Carolina. (See Part II.) Here there was some geographic isolation, for the foreign-born were in a colony by themselves, but there was by no means so much as in the Swedish community described. Unlike the Swedes, they went into an old district; but their particular location had been abandoned some years before by the natives. Not a great distance from them, however, were some large holdings still operated by natives on the plantation basis. The Castle Hayne immigrants, unlike the people of the other settlements described, were not all of the same race and did not all speak the same language, but were divided into five or six different nationality and language groups. The result here was that English quickly became the common medium of speech.

These immigrant farmers did not put into practice the farming methods of their various fatherlands, neither did they adopt the practice of the natives, nor raise the crops common to the area in which they had settled. Furthermore, under the guid-

ance of the development company sponsoring Castle Hayne, they bought tracts of only five or ten acres in a part of the country where plantation farming had been the rule for centuries. This procedure aroused the ridicule of the natives, who looked down on the newcomers for disregarding the experience of generations of native farmers.

But whatever their diversity in training and race these immigrants had an infinite capacity for work. Early and late they were seen in the fields. Under the guidance of the company they embarked on a programme of intensive cultivation of truck crops from which high yields were secured. On a hard-surfaced road and comparatively near a city, they had ready access to a local market for out-of-season products not sold through the coöperative, while their coöperative organization handled nearly everything they raised and sold in distant Northern markets. Prosperity came with amazing rapidity. Negroes were employed. Cars were purchased, ending isolation. The foreign-born visited the city and near-by coast resorts, weakening thereby social organization within their own community but hastening their own adjustment to their new environment, as did the consolidated school which their children attended.

So great has been their success that some of the native-born are now cautiously adopting the practices of the recent immigrants. Ridicule has stopped and the resentment caused by the arrival of these Catholic settlers in an intensely Protestant community is slowly dying away. Economic success and the common use of English have carried this group of foreign-born farmers far toward complete adjustment to American conditions.

SOME GENERAL CONDITIONS

The force of the language barrier thus becomes quite apparent. It is one of the most difficult to overcome. Its importance is also emphasized in a negative way by the fact that no settlements of people from the British Isles or of English-speaking Canadians was suggested for study by the colleges of agriculture consulted. If there are any, the nonexistence of the language barrier has resulted in so rapid and complete an adjustment to American conditions that no great significance was attached to the presence of foreign-born from these English-speaking lands

by agencies best informed in regard to the farming areas of their respective states. It is obvious, therefore, that in assessing the progress any community has made in its adjustment to American life these obstacles that have been mentioned, such as training, customs, religion, and language, must be taken into account as must also the location of the community and the length of time the foreign-born have been present in it. It is clear, too, from these instances that the attitude of the native toward the foreign-born is very important, and that the former may attempt to exploit the latter, to ignore them, to oppose them, or to coöperate with them.

To some native-born, the presence of the newly arrived foreigner offered an opportunity for profit not to be missed. This expressed itself in a number of ways. In Sunderland (see Part II) the presence of the Poles was a source of cheap labor which the natives exploited to the full, so that conditions described as little short of slavery existed for a while. Again the foreign-born have been exploited in land deals, being charged more than the land was worth. The degree to which this is carried varies from such flagrant cases as those noted in Chapter II to the all but unconscious process discovered in the farm management survey of Lebanon, Connecticut, which showed that the native-stock farmers had relinquished to the foreign-born only those farms that were on the poorer soil and at prices that, though not exorbitant, were none the less high.

INDIFFERENCE OF NATIVE FARMERS

But where opportunities for quick and above-average profits were not present, the usual attitude of the native toward the foreign-born was one of indifference based perhaps on lack of understanding, or on lack of desire to understand, the new neighbors; perhaps on a mild antipathy. This comes out quite clearly in the realm of organized religion, as will be seen in the next chapter. As a rule, the indigenous social group was satisfied with itself and the social structure it had reared, and desired nothing that involved change in the existing order. Hence while the foreigners were tolerated, and while their valuable economic contribution was perforce accepted, it was not unusual for entrée into the social life of the community to be withheld for a time. Usually this door was opened after the immigrant had

achieved economic success. Thus one Eastern community long held aloof from the Italians who had come into it. Now that these newcomers have rebuilt a wornout soil and are making good with thriving orchards on land the Yankees had abandoned, the native-born allude with pride to "our *north* Italian neighbors." One wonders what rationalization would have suggested itself had these neighbors chanced to be Sicilians!

The banishment of this studied indifference to the newcomer does not always come so quickly. In a New Jersey community in which three fourths of the farms are now operated by Italians who are successfully raising peaches and small fruits, the Grange still refuses to admit these farmers to its sadly depleted membership. If it does not eventually yield, it will probably follow the local church into oblivion.

WHERE PREJUDICE RAISES A BARRIER

Sometimes this prejudice reaches down from the native adults to the children and denies the democracy taught, and often practiced, by the school. In a Michigan community in which there was a growing Polish population, a Methodist minister, with the coöperation of the school, organized a highly successful Boy Scout troop. Soon the Polish boys asked to join. The priest approved of their action, the scoutmaster and the boys welcomed them; but the Protestant parents protested strenuously: and at the time of the survey the success of the entire enterprise was in jeopardy.

Similarly, a New Jersey local of the Camp Fire girls refused to admit the native-born daughters of Italian farmers.

As the foreign-born came to understand their rights in America, the attempts at exploitation and efforts to keep them in their place were often resisted. In many places this resistance developed nothing more than bitterness and the sullen retreat of the native-born from untenable positions. Sunderland (see Part II) is an illustration of this. In other communities, however, bitterness grew into conflict.

WHERE CONFLICT DEVELOPS

Thus, neglect of the Italian section of one village led this group to organize politically to secure equal treatment. They not unnaturally affiliated with the minority party in the com-

munity, and their support made it victorious. Not only have the Italians received what they wanted ever since, but their local "boss" was made assistant county sheriff and then sheriff.

The conflict in another community was rooted in the growing jealousy of the natives over the success of the newcomers whose standards of living they despised and feared. The Ku Klux Klan capitalized this latent antagonism and created additional animosity on religious grounds. The cleavage was carried into the school, resulting in playground brawls and the wreck of the school's social programme. The community baseball team split, each group organizing its own nine, whereupon the school board was asked to deny the Italian nine the use of the school diamond. Local leaders in this community stated that there was no racial antipathy as such in this conflict but that the causes were entirely political and religious. Whatever the correct diagnosis, it will take some years for this community to outlive the heritage of bitterness engendered by this conflict.

One of the interesting conflict situations was found in a Middle-Western community in which Swedish immigrants who had had an unusually difficult time winning an assured place for themselves in the community in the early years of the century were opposing newly arrived Polish farmers even more intensely than their own entrance had been withstood.

But there are comparatively few places in which the native group and the foreign group are antagonistic. In only six of seventy communities surveyed was there conflict at the time of the survey or the record of such conflict in the immediate past. In four of these instances the Ku Klux Klan had been aggressively active on one side and on the other the Italians were chiefly concerned. In other words, there was active conflict between native and foreign-born in these communities relatively only about half as frequently as between village and country in the 140 village communities studied by the Institute of Social and Religious Research.

PROCESSES OF ADJUSTMENT

In the main the relation of natives with the immigrants was marked by friendliness. Usually this had economic roots. As the foreign-born progressed financially they won the respect of the

banker and appeared desirable customers to the merchants. Social recognition and active coöperation lagged behind economic, sometimes far behind, but in many of the places visited in this investigation, it was there and becoming more evident. The response of the foreign-born in the World War also hastened the establishing of cordial relations.

The barriers between the two groups have been broken down in many ways. In a Wisconsin village in the cut-over country, the Chamber of Commerce decided that it must abandon the idea of celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the community because of the expense. Immediately the Sokol took over the responsibility with the coöperation of the Chamber of Commerce. A pageant-parade was planned and held, showing the whole history of the town. An all-day programme followed at the fair grounds; and, as a result of the initiative of the Czechs, an American community successfully celebrated its birthday.

The adjustment of a large group of Poles to life in a Michigan community was made easy by the Chamber of Commerce and the Women's Club at the village centre. The programme was both educational and economic.

A night school was organized, the school board giving the use of a room and paying for its heating and lighting. Thirty Poles enrolled. The average attendance was fifteen, the average being low because of the distance many had to walk in the bitter winter weather. The programme included instruction in English and phonetics, preparation for naturalization, talks by business men, and singing. A Polish merchant acted as interpreter. The priest approved the project and set an example by attending several sessions. The men were encouraged to bring their wives; and, as far as possible, individual instruction was given. After a lapse of one winter it was planned to repeat this enterprise during the year of the survey.

The Chamber of Commerce also started a better-farming campaign, with emphasis on dairying. Farmers' meetings were held with the coöperation of the College of Agriculture; and after much personal work, the confidence of the Poles was secured. An all-day farmers' institute was also conducted with the coöperation of the International Harvester Service. The

Women's Club coöperated in this by serving hot lunches to the large number of visitors who came. The bank financed the buying of pure-bred stock, repayments being made on the basis of a percentage of each monthly milk check. Milk production more than doubled in the first year as a result.

This helpful programme is greatly reducing the time it would otherwise take for the Poles to achieve a measure of success and stability on the land, and will thereby result in cumulative dividends in good will and profit for both native and foreign-born. This instance from Standish, Michigan, was the only such effort discovered in the survey, although this programme was being projected by near-by communities.

Individuals were also responsible for the breaking down of barriers. Many teachers had assisted promising foreign-stock children to go on with their studies, and had helped immigrant communities with service and advice. County agricultural agents had enlisted foreign-stock boys in the various clubs, such as Calf, Corn, and Pig clubs; and a number of these boys had taken prizes. Home-economics workers had given appreciated instructions in home-making and child care to foreign women.

One interested individual obtained the service of a visiting nurse for the foreign-born and secured a small building as a library, equipped largely with books from the County Library system and the travelling libraries of the state. Nearly a thousand books a year were distributed under the immediate supervision of an intelligent young foreign-born woman.

It will be seen, therefore, that with all the indifference toward and occasional opposition to the foreign-born, there were many instances in which individuals or organizations had stretched out helping hands to hasten the process of assimilation.

PLANNING THE STUDY

In an attempt to secure as precise a measure as possible of the adjustment of the foreign-born to rural life in the United States, a study was made of seventy selected communities to ascertain the extent to which the foreign-born share in the existing organized activities or construct their own machinery for meeting social needs. The places were selected with a view to having the sample broadly representative of this country's immigrant rural communities, with their differences in the early

training, the customs, and the language of the immigrants, as well as their differences resulting from location.

THE COMMUNITIES CHOSEN

The seventy communities, forty-one of which were in the Middle West and twenty-nine in New Jersey and Connecticut, were chosen after consultation with state colleges of agriculture and other state agencies. In each, the persons of foreign birth formed not more than 60 per cent. and not less than 20 per cent. of the population. These limits were fixed to insure in each place a sufficient proportion of both foreign-born and native-born to make a study of the interactions of the two groups of value.

As far as possible, also, these communities were equally divided among the following inclusive racial groups—Scandinavian, Teutonic, Latin, Slavic, and polyglot. Slavic races, under which designation are included all the groups formerly within the Russian empire and the Balkan countries, predominated in the polyglot communities. Due regard was also paid to securing a number of places in which the immigrant farmers were well established as well as a number into which the foreign-born had but recently come.

POPULATION

The population of these seventy communities totalled almost exactly 52,000; about one third, or 16,980 persons, being of foreign birth. Approximately another third were of foreign parentage. Two thirds of these foreign-born lived in communities of less than 1,000 population each, and more than two fifths were in hamlet or open-country communities.

NATIONALITIES REPRESENTED

Twenty-one nationalities were represented. Of these, seven groups numbered 1,000 or more persons each. The largest group was Polish. It contained exactly 20 per cent. of the total number of foreign-born. The Czechs were second with 15.7 per cent.; and then followed in order the Germans, 15 per cent.; Italians, 12.6 per cent.; Scandinavians, 12.6 per cent. (six sevenths Swedes); and the Finns, 7.3 per cent. The foreign-born whose nationality could not be determined numbered 634 persons,

less than 4 per cent. of the total; and these included a number of Jews unclassified as to country of birth.¹

THE COMMON MOTIVE OF ALL SETTLEMENTS

Diverse as were these groups in nationality, tradition, and background, they were united in one important characteristic of great social importance, namely, the motive that lured them to rural America. That motive was economic. They came "to better their condition," "to secure good, cheap land for farming," "to own larger holdings than could possibly be secured in the old country." These communities were in all stages of the war against stumps, underbrush, or second-growth timber. In some, the new pioneers had followed the woodsmen as recently as 1924. On the other hand, in a few centres like Barron, Wisconsin, from fifty to sixty years of effort by Teuton and Scandinavian stock had transformed an abandoned lumber camp into a prosperous centre known as the "Butter City," which possessed one of the largest coöperative creameries in the world.

This common experience of pioneering, this struggle to achieve independence, had left its mark upon all these communities. In the older, that mark was a fading scar, disappearing under the satisfaction of assured success but frequently drawn to the attention of the young by the veterans of the early days. In the new settlements, where the outcome was still uncertain, it accounted for the barrenness and the grimness of life, often devoid of all social organizations and marked by an austerity not unnaturally suggestive of life in the early pioneer days of America.

DETAILED FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

These then were the communities in which the participation of the foreign-born in the organized aspects of the social life was studied. The organizations found were of two general sorts, those concerned with social activities in the more usual sense of that term, and those in which the economic interest is uppermost. These two phases of the organized social life will be considered in order.

¹The next seven groups having from 100 to 500 persons in each were in order of size—Russian, Canadian, Croatian, Dutch, Hungarian, Swiss, and Lithuanian.

PARTICIPATION IN AMERICAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

The outstanding conclusion of this phase of the study was that in the main the foreign-born participate quite generally in the activities of American social organizations. This is especially true of the lodges. In other words, the social organizations have succeeded where particularly the Protestant churches have not. In the main, the rural immigrants have joined native social organizations to a much greater extent than they have founded their own; whereas in the main they have founded their own churches and worshipped in their own language to a far greater extent than they have joined with indigenous English-speaking churches.

Number of Organizations

There were 204 American social organizations in the seventy communities studied, an average of about three to each.² Lodges were the most numerous type among these, totalling seventy-seven. There were forty-three educational groups, such as farm bureaus and parent-teachers associations, and thirty-one civic bodies, including community clubs, welfare agencies, and fire departments. Economic organizations other than agricultural coöperatives, such as chambers of commerce, numbered twenty-three. Patriotic, socio-religious, athletic, and social clubs were represented by from six to ten of each.

The order of frequency of these types of organizations differed from that found by the Institute in its study of American agricultural villages. In the villages civic organizations were second, and social, economic, patriotic, educational, athletic, musical, and socio-religious followed in the order named.

Participation Through Membership

The total number of members of organizations in the present study was 9,696; of these 14.3 per cent. were foreign-born, and just under one third were of foreign parentage. Since the native stock, foreign stock, and foreign-born were almost equal groups in these communities, it will be observed that in the aggregate

²This low average is due to the small size of many of these communities, and therefore to the impossibility of supporting many organizations. Membership of native or foreign-born in organizations in other communities was not included in this or following computations.

there were proportionately as many second-generation foreign in the organizations as in the population, but slightly less than half as many foreign-born. Obviously, the native stock were in a majority over the first and second generation immigrants; but that majority was not large, and the enlistment of as many newcomers as these records reveal indicates that the rural community is not completely incapable of sharing the activities of the melting pot. It must be admitted, as will be shown later, that the results varied in individual instances according to the nationality of the immigrant group and the length of time it had been in the community. But, in general, these figures seem to show a high degree of assimilation; and there can be no doubt that the second generation has naturally followed the cultural pattern of the average American rural community.

The proportions of the three groups in each of the various types of organizations did not vary greatly except in the case of the patriotic, socio-religious, and athletic organizations, of which there were only twenty-three in all in the seventy communities. There were no foreign-born in the last two, and there was a negligible number in the patriotic bodies. On the other hand, 53.4 per cent. of the members of these last-named groups, and two thirds of those of the athletic clubs, were of foreign parentage.

Participation in Management

Quite as important as the participation of the foreign-born as members in various types of organizations, was the extent to which they shared in the direction of the organizations. It was found that the foreign-born did not share in the elected offices in proportion to their membership strength. Of the 1,014 officers of the 204 social organizations, one tenth were foreign-born, whereas one seventh of the members were of this group. Put another way, one out of every seven native-stock members held office, but only one out of every ten members who were the children of immigrants, and only one out of fourteen of the foreign-born themselves, held office.

Participation in Local Government

Curiously enough, the foreign-born seemed to secure greater recognition within the realm of local politics than in the social

organizations. They were frequently elected as constables, and quite a number were members of school boards. This tendency was more pronounced in the Middle West than among the communities studied in Eastern states. In this region one fourth of the local officers were foreign-born, and nearly half were of foreign parentage. Czechs, Germans, and Scandinavians were more generally chosen for office than members of other groups. This political recognition of the foreign stock was not the result of their voting as a unit. They did vote as a unit in only twenty of the seventy communities, and in half the twenty control of the vote lodged with the pastor or priest. In a number of places the native-born did everything in their power to divide the foreign vote, especially on local elections, to prevent the development of a foreign-born bloc.

Racial Differences in Participation

As has already been stated, the participation of the foreign-born in the social and political activities of the community varied somewhat according to the nationality, and also according to age-groups and sex-groups.

In communities in which the Poles predominated among the foreign-born, no organizations listed had any foreign-stock officers. The fourth case study sketches the slow rise of a Polish group toward social recognition. In communities where the Finns had centred, organizations were generally of a socialistic nature, and in them foreign-stock leaders had been developed. Indeed in these places the organizations had often been started by the foreign-born and natives sought membership. Nearly as large a proportion of the officers as of members were foreign-born, though fewer were of foreign parentage. In communities dominated by Italians, the total membership of organizations was 2,978. Of this number, 12 per cent. were foreign-born and 31 per cent. were of foreign parentage. Of the total number of officers reported in these groups, only 8 per cent. were foreign-born and 19 per cent. of foreign parentage. Italians, as a rule, did not appear to be as interested in joining American social organizations, or in taking active leadership in them, as did members of the other nationalities.

In communities dominated by Czechs, there were almost as many foreign-stock officers in American social organizations,

proportionately, as there were foreign-stock members. The Czechs were more keenly interested in the community life about them than any other nationality. In one community with ten American social organizations, the average number of this group in each was thirty-nine. To a remarkable degree there was in evidence along Main Street, in communities in which the Czechs were the largest element among the foreign-born, a live interest in topics of the day and in economic conditions.

As a rule, the polyglot foreign settlement adjusted itself more quickly to the life of the American rural community than any other immigrant group. Its members participated freely in the organization of the community and had no foreign societies or churches. There was not a sufficient number of any one nationality to organize on a racial basis, or to arouse antagonism on the part of the native-born or of weaker nationality groups. Economic and social progress, in fact economic survival, demanded the adoption of some common basis of understanding and organization, and the American basis was naturally the one to which all turned, as in the case of Castle Hayne. The process might be termed self-Americanization. It is noticeable that English is spoken more fluently in some of these polyglot centres than in the more homogeneous groups.

Age- and Sex-Group Participation

Among the age-groups and sex-groups, it was the young people and the women who were less likely to be drawn into the life of the community than the men and younger children.

The organizations that have been considered were very largely those for men. There were some for women but few of these received foreign-born women and those that did were in communities where the foreign-born had been long present. There were no organizations for young people outside the school.

The children of all nationalities were being shaped according to the American mould in the public school. In fact, this process seemed, whether unwittingly or otherwise, to be pursued rather rigorously. In no one of the seventy communities studied had the school made any effort to adapt its programme to the special needs or capacities of the foreign-born. No instances were found in which the school had attempted to use old-country customs,

dances, music, or folklore in its extra-curricular activities. Such a device would not only have enriched the culture of the community, but in so doing would have dignified the motherland in the eyes of the children and thereby helped to ease the inevitable strain between the foreign-born parents and "these American children," as more than one father sadly described his offspring. The schools of these communities were undoubtedly succeeding quite well in Americanizing the younger element of the second generation of immigrants.

This situation was perhaps hardest of all on the foreign-born women. Again and again they complained of it, a complaint that can be best stated in the words of an immigrant farmer's wife in northern Wisconsin: "My husband goes here to-day, there to-morrow, and meets many, many people. He speaks English very good and belongs to some societies. I have very much difficulty to understand English, so it is hard for me to keep up. My children they try to teach me, but they are in school and get cross with me because I must learn so slowly. So we speak Croatian in the home."

This woman lived in one of the best new houses in the community and was looked upon as a leader among people of her nationality. She kept house and took care of the stock when her "man" happened to be away. Her only contact with other people was through the church, which held only one service a month. There was little time for mingling with those of other groups or even with those of her own. The foreign-born women have no substitute for the business contacts of the men and their opportunities for social intercourse are more restricted. Furthermore, in some places the men attempted to forbid the women to leave the home unattended or even to converse with salesmen or peddlers. Even women county agents at times found themselves handicapped by this rule.

FOREIGN-STOCK ORGANIZATIONS

Perhaps it is the social value of the business contacts of the men that helps to account for the lack of foreign-stock organizations. Fifty of the seventy places studied had none at all. The other twenty had forty-five. On the other hand, the strength of the rural immigrants' foreign-language church may account for this lack of foreign-stock organizations. The figures given

do not include the numerous church societies which in the case of the Scandinavian, Teutonic, and Polish groups were quite strong and sometimes were the only foreign-language organizations in their communities.

These church organizations, apart from various social features in their programme which perpetuated the customs of the immigrants' homeland, frequently also included activities that correspond to the insurance programme of American lodges. Furthermore, as will be shown in the chapter dealing with the church, the strong foreign-language church very often affects in various ways the entire social life of the community. As might be expected, the social force of the foreign-language church was strong in communities dominated by one racial group, but declined as the number of nationalities present in the community increased.

With respect to the purely social organizations among the foreign-stock, it was found that the Czechs and Italians possessed most of them, each having two fifths of the foreign-language societies. This is interesting, for while the Italians did not enter as freely as other racial groups into community-wide social activities, the Czechs were eager to participate in them. Undoubtedly these two groups were influenced by different motives in the formation of their respective organizations.

The Italian clubs were largely socio-religious in character, such as the Knights of Columbus. A number of them included insurance features in their membership privilege which, though meagre, prove a real attraction. In the Czech organizations the religious motive was missing. Their organizations were largely Sokols, which combined in many instances insurance features with their athletic-social programme. Self-help in one form or another was the common characteristic of practically all foreign-stock organizations regardless of race or of differences in the rest of the programme.

The only organizations for young people were three junior Sokols for Czech boys. Their value was evident. Physical fitness was not only an ideal but also a characteristic of the Czech communities. Proficiency in the drills, demonstrations, and tournaments of the Sokols was a matter of great pride; and fathers and sons worked together in the programme in a most

wholesome spirit. Unfortunately, there was little or nothing for the Czech young women.

Two fifths of these racial organizations owned halls of their own. This is a very much higher proportion than obtains among the similar agencies of the native-born. Each of these halls served not only the organization owing it, but was also a social centre for its entire group.

The average membership of these forty-five foreign-stock societies was fifty-seven, and the average attendance was just half the enrolment. In a few communities, especially in Connecticut, where there were no local organizations, some men belonged to groups in near-by cities, but the number of these was said to be small.

Leadership

One of the great values of these foreign-stock organizations has been the development of leadership among the foreign-born. In one Eastern community a priest, himself an immigrant, has become an outstanding figure through his agricultural leadership of a polyglot group. Himself a farmer, he cultivates sixty acres, has a dairy of eight cows, and raises poultry in addition to attending to his parish work. His chapel is a made-over New England homestead. Here he serves Czechs, Italians, Poles, and Russians except when the weather is bad, when he goes to their homes. During the last two years this priest has arranged for a fair and harvest festival attended by over 400 persons. While the natives have been largely indifferent, this leader is transforming the agriculture of the community.

In a Michigan village, a Finn has become the leading merchant; but the store he directs is a coöperative. In a Wisconsin centre, a foreign-born Czech rose from the leadership of his own group to that of the community. At the time of the survey, he was president of the coöperative elevator, vice-president of the coöperative creamery, trustee of the church, and a member of the town board.

The discussion thus far has been confined to social organizations; but among the rural foreign-born, as has already been indicated, the economic organizations, particularly the farmers' coöperatives, are an important socializing force. This was in-

dicated in the replies of the county agents who were asked how the support given the farm bureau and the coöperatives by foreign-born farmers compared with that of the native-born, and it was greatly emphasized by the results secured in the seventy places visited.

The opinion of the agents on this question varied considerably among the three regions. In the Middle Atlantic states there were twice as many agents who reported that they received less support for the farm bureau from the foreign-born than from the native-born as there were who stated that the support of the foreigner was equal to or in excess of that of the native-born. This ratio also held for the Far West. On the other hand, in the Middle West, from which about half the replies were received, there was practically a fifty-fifty division between the counties reporting less support and those reporting the same or more.

With the coöperatives, the result was slightly different. The foreign-born appeared to be more willing to support an economic enterprise of this sort than they were to coöperate with an educational enterprise such as the farm bureau. In the Far West and the Northern Colonial states, the counties showed almost a fifty-fifty division between those in which the foreign-born were not as active in the coöperative and those in which they were as active as the native-born, if not more active. In the Middle West, only 40 per cent. of the counties reported that the foreign-born were less active than the native-born in the support of a coöperative. The support given varied according to the length of the residence of the foreign-born, their race, and the degree of isolation in which they lived.

Thus, on the question as to the response of the foreign-born to farm bureaus and coöperatives, in comparison with the native-born, the results showed that for all racial groups where the foreign-born were in colonies by themselves, their response was less satisfactory than where they were generally distributed throughout the area of the county.

The results of this comparison on the basis of residence are given in Table XXXIII.³ They indicate that the Latin races respond less generally to the farm bureau and the coöperatives

³Table XXXIII also shows the extent to which certain groups tended to be or not to be segregated.

than do any other, and that the northern European and Teutonic groups make the best record. The table also shows what has been already mentioned: where foreign-born farmers of any nationality are generally distributed throughout the area of a county, they are much more likely to coöperate with agencies of agricultural life than they are if they are segregated in colonies.

TABLE XXXIII. SUPPORT GIVEN FARM BUREAUS AND COÖPERATIVES BY FOREIGN-BORN FARMERS, BY TYPE OF COMMUNITY

Kind of Coöperation Reported*	FARM BUREAUS		COÖPERATIVES	
	Countries in Which Foreign-born Live in Communities That Are		Live in Communities	
	Segregated	Unsegregated	Segregated	Unsegregated
LATIN				
Total.....	34	39	34	35
Less than native-born....	30	25†	27	19†
Same as ".....	4	11	7	15
More than ".....	0	3	0	1
SLAVIC				
Total.....	57	34	58	22
Less than ".....	45	22†	43	9†
Same as ".....	9	11	10	11
More than ".....	3	1	5	2
SCANDINAVIAN				
Total.....	47	45	45	41
Less than native-born....	21	8	19	5
Same as ".....	22	23	15	26
More than ".....	4	14	11	10
TEUTONIC				
Total.....	65	61	62	59
Less than native-born....	37	13†	33	9†
Same as ".....	17	37	15	40
More than ".....	11	11	14	10

*Differences in total of groups for foreign-born and coöperatives accounted for by there being no coöperatives or no farm bureau in certain counties.

†A majority of these Czecho-Slovak.

‡In a number of instances county agents said that as the language difficulty was removed this situation changed for the better.

On the whole, these data tend to confirm the impression of Dr. Speek, based on this study of rural immigrant colonies, that the larger the colony the less it showed American influences.⁴

⁴Speek, *A Stake in the Land* (New York, Harpers, 1922), p. 131.

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Tables XXXIV and XXXV reveal this situation in regional terms.

TABLE XXXIV. SUPPORT GIVEN THE FARM BUREAU BY FOREIGN-BORN FARMERS COMPARED WITH THE SUPPORT GIVEN BY NATIVE-BORN FARMERS, BY NATIONALITY GROUPS

REGION	Total	Latin	COUNTIES REPORTING		
			Slavic	Scandinavian	Teutonic
			LESS		
Total.....	201	55	67	29	50
Northern Colonial.....	67	26	33	3	5
Middle West.....	92	6	31	20	35
Far West.....	42	23	3	6	10
			SAME		
Total.....	135	15	20	45	55
Northern Colonial.....	27	9	10	2	6
Middle West.....	82	3	10	30	39
Far West.....	26	3	—	13	10
			MORE		
Total.....	47	3	4	18	22
Northern Colonial.....	8	—	1	3	4
Middle West.....	28	2	2	11	13
Far West.....	11	1	1	4	5

TABLE XXXV. SUPPORT GIVEN THE COÖPERATIVES BY FOREIGN-BORN FARMERS COMPARED WITH THE SUPPORT GIVEN BY NATIVE-BORN FARMERS, BY NATIONALITY GROUPS

REGION	Total	Latin	COUNTIES REPORTING		
			Slavic	Scandinavian	Teutonic
			LESS		
Total.....	164	46	52	24	42
Northern Colonial.....	45	20	21	2	2
Middle West.....	82	6	28	18	30
Far West.....	37	20	3	4	10
			SAME		
Total.....	139	22	21	41	55
Northern Colonial.....	35	13	11	5	6
Middle West.....	77	3	10	25	39
Far West.....	27	6	—	11	10
			MORE		
Total.....	59	7	7	21	24
Northern Colonial.....	8	2	2	2	2
Middle West.....	33	2	4	14	13
Far West.....	18	3	1	5	9

It appears, therefore, when all things, including the language handicap, are considered, that the foreign-born farmers show an encouraging appreciation of some of the devices now employed for increasing the efficiency and income of the farmer, and that there is at least no tendency on their part to develop their agricultural enterprise as a separate group without any reference to the experience of the native-born and the advice of the government.

PARTICIPATION IN ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS

The testimony of the nation-wide sample of expert opinion is confirmed by the actual study of the extent to which the foreign-born participated in the activities and direction of the coöperative organizations found in thirty-five of the seventy communities studied. Four sevenths of these coöperatives were concerned only with marketing the products of their members. Several both bought and sold; the rest were coöperatives for the purchase of goods and supplies for the purpose of reselling them to their members. The total membership of these coöperatives was 3,255, averaging, therefore, nearly 100 each in membership. Forty-six per cent. of the members were foreign-born and nearly 30 per cent. were of foreign parentage. Three fourths of the enrolment, therefore, came from the immigrant group. This is in sharp contrast to the purely social organizations, in which, it will be recalled, only 14 per cent. of the members were foreign-born.

The foreign group also had its proportionate share of the offices of these associations. The general impression of the field workers was that the associations that the foreign group had organized, or in which it held a large share of the offices, were more successful than the others.

Results of Economic Coöperation

The social gains that can come from this economic coöperation are best illustrated by the example of Belleplaine, N. J., a community with a considerable Italian population that had been more successful on their farms than had the average native. Many of the men augmented their farm income, especially in winter, by day labor in near-by gravel pits, or on the railroad. At the time of the survey, the coöperative was eight years old

It had been formed as a purchasing organization to combat the high prices of post-war days, against the opposition of the farm implement and fertilizer dealer and others. The association, like many others, was caught with a large inventory when the collapse in prices came. Many of the native-born resigned; but with the encouragement of the largest American land owner-operator, the coöperative held together and few of the foreign-born dropped out. To-day the organization has worked out of its difficulties, owns its own headquarters, and enjoys a strong financial position.

Coöperation in this enterprise raised many questions and problems. Meetings were held and social gatherings engineered. The schoolhouse was used for these. At all times the organization received the intelligent and unstinted coöperation of the school principal.

As a result of this, the coöperative organized a parent-teachers association which in turn was responsible for scout troops. Public meetings of all kinds are well attended by both races in this community, especially the plays put on by the P. T. A. A branch of the county library has been opened and is used by native and foreign-born alike. The Italians complained that the selections sent contained too much fiction. The children of both groups play together without friction; some of the Italian children have gone on to high school, and have made good records both scholastically and on the athletic field. Efforts to organize a klan, which is strong in the county, have failed. While the coöperative cannot claim the entire credit for this state of affairs, it did help both directly and indirectly to create the happy situation now existing in this community.

CONCLUSION

Socially, then, the dominant force in the development of foreign-stock communities has been economic. Once the home had been established, it was organization for economic ends that first enlisted the efforts of the foreign-born farmer. Even later, when greater security enabled him to devote some attention to social organizations, whether American or of his own founding, it was those that offered some economic security through their insurance and sick-benefit features that secured the largest measure of his support.

While the first years of struggle to survive, even on land not new to cultivation, left little room for participation in organized social activities, none of the foreign-born regretted the years of toil from dawn to dark. The primary goal of the new and the old immigrant alike has been, and is, land and home ownership. The extent of their success has been shown in chapter II. In their patient conquest of the soil, they have asked little help from one another and none from their American neighbors. Out of their successes have come communities in various degrees of complete merging into the life of the American community round about them.

In only twenty-two of the seventy communities had their process of assimilation been slow in getting under way. Various causes accounted for this retardation. Sometimes isolation was due not only to language but also to remoteness from other neighbors. Distance from markets, poor roads, and lack of adequate railroad facilities were among the factors in this problem of isolation.

Again community development was retarded where nationalities that were historically bad neighbors had allowed the issues of the World War and of the right of self-determination for formerly subject peoples to disturb their relations in the common problem of building a new community in the New World.

In a few instances settlements of north Europeans, especially Germans, remained aloof and unassimilated from choice. Usually, in these cases, the church had so nurtured loyalties to it, and to the traditions of the past and the motherland, that the community remained as Teutonic as on the day of its founding.

In the other cases, about one third of the whole number, the settlement had been too recent for the process of assimilation that has been sketched to begin. The battle with the stumps and the mortgage was still at its height.

But the important fact of the survey of these seventy communities is this, that more than two thirds of them were progressing more or less surely along a well-charted course leading toward complete assimilation into the life of rural America.⁵

⁵The case studies in Part II give detailed descriptions of this process of assimilation in four widely different types of communities.

Chapter VI

THE CHURCH IN THE IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY

The rural immigrants have, to a large extent, adopted American farm methods in their quest for economic independence; they have joined American social organizations more often than they have organized foreign-speaking organizations in their pursuit of sociability; and they have sent their children to be educated in American schools. But in religious affairs they have been slower to break away from the loyalties, customs, and traditions of the Old World. The foreign-language church on American soil faces a difficult problem in its efforts to hold fast to those old customs dear to its members born in other lands, and at the same time to move forward rapidly enough to retain the loyalty of its young people who are becoming more and more successful in their insistence that it shall be entirely American in its programme and activity. Other churches in immigrant communities also face difficulties of an unusual kind.

Up to this point in the study of social life the sole purpose has been to ascertain how the foreign-born groups in rural areas react to American social organizations. The status of the organizations themselves has not been the subject of special inquiry. But it was thought desirable, because of the special importance of the church, to make an exception of it, and to inquire how it fares as an organization in immigrant rural communities.

In surveys made before the present inquiry was undertaken, the Institute of Social and Religious Research had studied over 2,500 rural churches, 15 per cent. of them of the foreign-language variety.¹ The data from these investigations were freely drawn upon in the present report in addition to the ma-

¹These previous studies are the initial survey of twenty-five representative counties, the study of forty rural churches of distinction, and the investigation of 140 agricultural villages.

terial secured from the 126 churches in the seventy communities visited.

Three types of religious institutions were found to be active in serving the foreign-stock farm family—the Roman Catholic, which makes its appeal largely to the southern Europeans, and which reaches nationality groups of Poles, Czechs, and Italians with a varying degree of success and faces still another situation in its appeal to polyglot groups; the foreign-language Protestant churches, which are nearly all of the liturgical type, ministering chiefly to German and Scandinavian groups distinctive in heritage, organization, and administration; and, third, Protestant churches that use English exclusively in their services.

The rural Catholic church was in the main a strong institution. Its strength was derived from the skill with which it conducted its religious programme, from its use of techniques long approved by its constituency, from the ability of its priests, and from the wisdom of its social service.

The foreign-language Protestant churches showed many points of similarity with the Catholic. Both were usually important factors in the social situation of the communities served. Their memberships and budgets were above the average for rural Protestantism, their ministers better trained. Their houses of worship were substantial, often beautiful. Built on European lines and designed to conserve the traditions and spiritual experience of the past, these churches in the main were American in spirit and were resolutely facing a future in which ever fewer of their members in recalling the days of old could do so in European terms.

Finally, the Protestant churches whose services were conducted in English were by far the weakest of the three types. They were generally small in membership and poor in equipment and leadership. They possessed all the weaknesses of the American rural church, and in addition were uncertain in their approach to the immigrant group.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

In all these studies, Roman Catholic churches held the largest memberships and the largest average attendance, both actually and in the proportion of their constituency drawn into membership, although their advantage over the foreign-language

Protestant church was slight. There were two outstanding differences between foreign-language Catholic churches and foreign-language Protestant churches.

First, the Roman Catholic church showed little evidence of uncertainty and conflict over changes in programme and language which were often found in the Protestant churches. The strength of the Roman Catholic Church as an institution, and the accepted authority of its administrative officials, precluded the possibility of such difficulties. Second, the Roman Catholic churches showed a wider fluctuation than the foreign-language Protestant churches in the results of the appeals to their constituencies among different nationality groups.

Of the 126 churches active in seventy communities studied in the present investigation, 30 per cent., or thirty-seven, were of the Roman Catholic faith. Nearly three fourths of these were listed as foreign-language churches, though a few used English in the reading of the Gospels and in catechetical classes for young people, and in some the sermons were preached in both English and a foreign language.

Eighteen of these churches were in Middle West communities serving chiefly Czechs, Polish, and polyglot groups. Ten were strictly foreign-language institutions, and fifteen had foreign-born priests. The average attendance at masses was double that at the services of thirty-eight foreign-language Protestant churches in the same area, though in a majority of cases the Catholic priests were non-resident and served several points each, and though the Catholic constituency, so far as could be estimated, did not greatly exceed the Protestant. The strictly foreign-language Roman Catholic churches appeared to hold their memberships better than those using two languages. This is quite natural. These churches were dealing with more recent arrivals to the United States to whom such a church offered much. Where English and a foreign language were alternately used, there was little difference in the response of the people so far as the recorded attendance showed.

In the New Jersey and Connecticut communities studied, families of various nationality groups of Catholic tradition, if members at all, were often affiliated with large, near-by city churches. Only nine Roman Catholic churches were found in

the communities studied in these states; and in them the local average attendance was also actually and proportionately somewhat larger than in either the English or the foreign-language churches of other denominations.

Churches attended by Polish families were generally found to be stronger than those of most other nationalities. Their priests were usually of the same racial family; and considerable emphasis was placed upon holding their constituents together in a strong racial group. Their churches very often served as the one centre of community activity.

Posen, Michigan, furnishes an example. Here is a typical Polish farm community with a live Polish Catholic church and parochial school at the centre, manned by a foreign-born Polish priest. Polish is the language of the community. There are no American or foreign-language social organizations. The only organized activities are those connected with the church; and the priest is recognized as the community leader in political and social as well as in religious affairs. A more detailed study of the place of the church in a Polish community is to be found in the study of Sunderland, Massachusetts, in Part II.

A foreign group, such as the above, held together by this type of religious organization in a rather isolated community, naturally produces little assimilation of groups. Posen resembles an old-country Polish community. The Germans and Swedes who live in and around the centre remained quite apart and attended their own church organizations.

The Catholic churches serving Czechs were found to be less active. There was often evident indifference, and in some cases open opposition, to organized religion among these people. In one successful Czech village this common attitude was thus expressed by a leading citizen: "The church here is weak; mostly because those at its head are not pushers; also because our people are more inclined to honor the memories of Jan Hus, Jan Amos Komensky, or Jan Zizka than those who have persecuted them. Our people are liberal under such organizations as the Bohemian or Moravian Brethren, but even at that we are not a religious people, though we are not agnostics."

In another typical community largely made up of Czechs and Germans, there were ten active American social organiza-

tions whose charter members were largely Czecho-Slovakians, eight foreign-stock groups organized chiefly for insurance purposes, and a live Farmers Coöperative Association. The two churches, Roman Catholic and Methodist, were both weak. The former was served by a foreign-born priest of another nationality who spoke little Czech; the latter was little more than a struggling Sunday-school held in a rented hall and served irregularly by a part-time, non-resident pastor.

Certain of the Italian Catholic churches were also weak. Though the country population of several New Jersey and Connecticut communities was traditionally of this denomination, there was widespread indifference toward active support and church attendance. A second-generation Italian merchant of South Jersey characteristically remarked: "The Italian farmer did not come here to get anything but a decent living and he and his whole family are bent on earning that. He is not interested in politics, sociability, or religion. All he wants is to be let alone while he does his work."

One of the difficult problems Roman Catholic foreign-language churches have to face is that of serving polyglot groups in isolated neighborhoods. In a country neighborhood near Medford, Wisconsin, for example, very little English was spoken. The people were largely of several Slavic races and did not understand the German spoken by the Catholic priest in the village. The children were learning English in school, however, and the village priest was attempting to develop classes in religious instruction. But the older people had long ago lost touch with the church, and a great many were said not even to know the Lord's Prayer. The distance to Medford was eight miles; and the neighborhood was still without a local church organization. The Holy Roller group was gaining a foothold here in the absence of regular church work.

The Roman Catholic churches attended by foreign-stock farmers vie with foreign-language Protestant churches in the strength of their appeal. Both have well-trained leaders. Both have good church equipment and an especially strong hold on country people whether their churches are located in village or open country.

The main point of variation in the reach of these churches lies in the fact that one group serves chiefly southern Europeans

and the other northern Europeans who have quite different traditions.

To the Roman Catholic churches studied, the matter of programme was not important. It was the continuance of the institution that counted among the members. If changes took place, well and good; but the language to be used and other questions of church procedure, so often moot points among members of foreign-language Protestant churches, were not discussed to any extent by Roman Catholic groups. The authority of the church was supreme among those who retained their tie with the church at all.

FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PROTESTANT CHURCH

The churches of the second group to be considered are those of Protestant faith that use a foreign language in their services. These are the churches of Germans, Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, and Finns, who are noted for their staunch church loyalties. Each of these groups brought its church here from the fatherland as one of its most precious possessions and set it up in the New Land according to the blessed traditions of the Old. All of them erected simple but beautiful houses of worship which they have zealously cared for down through the years. They organized their churches on a systematic financial basis; developed a programme commanding the allegiance of every age-group and sex-group; emphasized the importance of intensive religious education; retained a rich liturgical procedure; and placed a well-trained long-term resident minister in charge. These churches stand as strongholds of spiritual growth in many sections of rural America to-day.

Especially among groups of Swedish, Norwegian, and German nationality, the church holds first place in the life of the community. Various studies of the Institute show many examples of the foreign-language Lutheran church as the dominant agency for social control where these nationality groups have made their homes.

Felch-Metropolitan, by way of illustration, is a Swedish settlement tucked away at the end of a branch line railroad running into the hills of northern Michigan. It is a thrifty, scrupulously clean bit of Sweden in America. At its centre stands the proverbial white-spired Lutheran church. The

Lutheran minister lives in the largest white house in the village and is the recognized community leader. Life outside of the farm processes largely revolves around the church.

Leer, in another section of Michigan, has a Norwegian background. The Lutheran Aid Society among the women, and the Guernsey Coöperative Association among the men, are the only organizations in Leer. The Lutheran church and basement serve as the community centre.

To the south of the rich agricultural village of Alta, Iowa, is a typical German neighborhood known as Hanover. Here the beautiful white church on the hill bears witness to the strength of the liturgical church ministering to a one-nationality rural neighborhood. The pastor has been long resident and owns and farms some of the best land in the parish. The children of the community are educated in two parochial schools. Attendance at services, according to the records of the church, often exceeds the 500 mark, an extraordinary figure for a rural church in America. Both English and German are used, though the programme is still strongly reminiscent of the European tradition.

In such communities, where a preponderance of the church-going population was affiliated with one or another of the churches of the Lutheran family, the strength of the church as a social institution was distinctly evident. In Mt. Horeb, Wisconsin, for instance, church customs had affected every phase of community life. Mt. Horeb had grown up with a Lutheran background. Its churches had always had an intensive programme of religious education; pastors had remained for remarkably long periods in their parishes; they had come well-trained for service and had commanded a peculiar degree of denominational loyalty. Thus the Lutheran people have lived more to themselves; and their strength, unitedly exerted in community affairs, has both dominated the village and forced upon the groups with other traditions a degree of coöperation and common interest that has all the possibilities of incipient divisions on matters of community concern.

The present study included thirty-three Lutheran churches in Middle West communities, eighteen of them ministering to German, eight to Swedish, four to Finnish, two to Norwegian, and one to Danish people.

Two thirds of these churches are using both English and a foreign language in their services, six use English only, and seven make exclusive use of a foreign language; yet twenty-two of these churches are served by pastors who are either foreign-born or of foreign parentage. The larger number of services in churches using two languages are still held in a foreign tongue. Though there was found to be some alarm among the older people over impending changes, the foreign-language services were still drawing the larger average attendance.

With the exception of the Finns, nationality groups served by Lutheran churches possessed a considerable degree of unity. The Finns were often divided into two distinct factions. The church Finns were very loyal to their religious organizations. The non-church Finns were socialistic in their thinking; were stronger than the church group, with which they had almost nothing in common; and centred their activities in a country social hall.

In one case, which seemed typical of others, the non-church Finns were leaders in politics and had been influential in the organization of a coöperative store which handled groceries, cream, drygoods, hardware, lumber, tools, farm implements, fertilizer, and feed. While the church Finns rallied around a struggling little church, the larger group carried on its socio-economic programme in a hall that was in effect the community centre.

Lutheran churches, more than most others, have found difficulty in tolerating any emphasis upon the community side of their programmes. Union services are not encouraged. One Lutheran pastor claimed that "Union services kill individual church interest. More attend service when held in separate groups. People do not get what they need most in union services." These churches are often characterized by aloofness; and though their pastors may enter more generally into the everyday life of their own flocks than pastors of other types of churches do, they were found, in most cases, to enter less into community life among people of other denominations. But these churches were none the less modern in their outlook and internal organization.

In communities made up largely of one nationality of Lutheran tradition, the church has a definite advantage of making

identical the religious and social ideals. The Swedish Lutheran church of Stanton, Iowa, illustrates this oneness of purpose. In form and character Swedish, it received a new birth on American soil, and to-day is as fundamentally American as any native organization could be. Its European social and religious background is still clearly seen in its services in Swedish; but the majority of the members are American-born; and a gradual conscious change is taking place to fit the new needs. Communion services are now read in both English and Swedish, and an occasional sermon is preached in English for the young folks. The most interesting point about this church programme is that the many activities of various groups are sufficiently important to set the schedule for all community affairs. When these church groups are holding meetings, no outside events can succeed. The church, in its social as well as its religious programme, is recognized by the entire community as worthy of holding first place.²

Foreign-language Protestant churches, especially in the Middle West and Far West, have remained strong in the faith, as well as in their organization; they have not neglected their flocks nor expected the impossible of their pastors, upon whom they have imposed the circuit-system form of service. They have been criticized for puritanical moral standards; but, especially where they have made necessary adaptations, they have measurably succeeded in retaining their young people whom they have trained to become strong leaders in their churches of to-morrow. By making haste slowly, they have, especially in recent years, greatly assisted the adjustment of their people to life in this country by a process that might be called "self-Americanization."

ENGLISH-USING PROTESTANT CHURCHES

The churches of the third and weakest group attended by the foreign-born farmers and their families are those of indigenous denominations that conduct their services in English.

In ten Middle West communities that had a total population of about 6,000, there were twelve active churches of this type. Forty per cent. of the population was foreign-born. Less than 10 per cent. of the population was enrolled in these churches. The

²Cf. Brunner, *Churches of Distinction*, chapter XI.

average enrolment of three Lutheran churches was twenty; of six other Protestant churches, sixty; and of three Roman Catholic churches, thirty. Average attendance at the Protestant services was only twenty-eight. Of the 507 resident members, 14 per cent. were foreign-born and only 9 per cent. were of foreign parentage. Less than one fourth of the membership was, therefore, of the foreign group.

In each of these ten communities, persons interviewed agreed that church life was at low ebb. In none was there any attempt to reach the various nationality groups. In two communities the churches were divided within individual memberships; and in one church, the only one in a predominantly German community, the single church organization had been obliged to disband because of lack of group harmony.

In ten other Middle Western communities there were churches in which both a foreign language and English were used. Of a total of forty-one churches, twelve held services in both English and another language; twenty-two held English services only, and seven held services in only a foreign language. In the ten communities there were 16,758 people, 34 per cent. of whom were foreign-born. The largest average attendance was found in churches that used a foreign language only; and the lowest was in churches that used only English. The average membership of churches with services only in English was ninety-three; of foreign-language churches, 147. A little over 25 per cent. of the total population was affiliated with the churches.

Of all that used English exclusively, there was only one in which an active effort was made to serve the foreign-language young people well, and it was a Roman Catholic church that had a carefully organized play programme in connection with a parochial school.

These facts bear out the statement in an earlier study of twenty-five counties: "The New American has made good on the land; the church has not made good with the New American." In that study, as in this, it was found that in most counties the church using English was doing next to nothing in its approach to its foreign-born neighbors. Faced with the problem its leaders too often replied that it "was sympathetic toward the newcomers," that "it welcomed all to services"; and there the matter usually ended.

Here and there were examples of a Protestant church attempting half-hearted work among Italian or Polish farmers. In one South Jersey church, one or two Italian children attended Daily Vacation Bible School irregularly; in another a few little Italians joined in the annual Sunday-school picnic. A Presbyterian mission tried to start work in one community. Italian Bibles and hymnbooks were provided. A young Italian who lived near by held Sunday afternoon services for a time but the work was not long successful. This is not an imposing catalogue of service.

Leaders of Protestant churches that used English exclusively sometimes alleged that whenever they attempted to enlist the foreign stock in their organizations, such as the Sunday-schools, the work was soon stopped by the Roman Catholic authorities. Thus, in some communities, the young people of foreign stock were apparently neglected and unreached by any church.

On the whole, however, the Americans regarded the foreigners with indifference. Their general attitude was much the same as that of the Americans in a Connecticut community, mentioned in the last chapter, made up of people of native stock and a polyglot group of Czechs, Swedes, Germans, Italians, Poles, and Russians.

Here the Roman Catholic church was served by a progressive, energetic Irish priest who farmed sixty acres of land, had a dairy herd, raised chickens, and held mass. For the past two years, fall festivals had been held in the Catholic community house. These fairs lasted two days and were real social gatherings for all the Catholic farmers and their families. Last year's attendance was 400, yet not one American farmer was sufficiently interested to attend, or to show any appreciation of the event and what it meant in this new American community; nor were the churches of the native-born sympathetic to this programme which meant so much to the community.

The Protestant church in which services are conducted only in English seldom assumes or even sees any direct responsibility for service to new Americans, and often avoids them. It is a rare church of this kind that has succeeded in forcing its people to the realization that there is any need for even a spirit of neighborliness toward the foreign stock in its parish.

English-using churches cannot expect to reach foreign-

speaking groups through their regular programmes. Former studies have shown that with equipment to fit the need, trained workers, a broad enough programme, and regular help for the mission boards, successful work can be accomplished.

The Presbyterian mission at San Gabriel, California, is an outstanding example of successful Protestant work among the Mexicans who work in the fruit groves of the valley. The Presbyterian Home Mission Board gives aid to the amount of \$1,500 a year. The equipment consists of the church, the parsonage, and the settlement house. At the time of the study, a college-trained Mexican pastor was in charge, and two trained teachers were employed in the school. There was a graded Sunday-school, and the programme included, besides the regular religious services, a daily vacation Bible school, boys' and girls' camp periods, and a night school for adults. There were regular medical clinics; and through an employment bureau the pastor had placed hundreds of men in positions. Mexicans could secure clothing from a salvage closet at a nominal fee. Men, women, and children were served; and every effort was made to meet the foreign group on its own grounds with no attempt to conform to the regular English-speaking Presbyterian programme.

ENGLISH AND FOREIGN-LANGUAGE CHURCHES COMPARED

Some significant comparisons with the findings of the study of 140 villages can be made of foreign-language and English-using churches in the Middle West. In the study of the 140 villages, which included churches in both villages and neighboring country areas, there were 149 foreign-language churches, 52 per cent. of which were of the Lutheran denomination. In the membership of these Lutheran churches was found 64 per cent. of the total enrolment of the 149 churches.

The study showed that in spite of much discussion among church groups concerning the loss of members caused by the drifting away of the younger and the death of the older loyal members, the foreign-language churches still hold larger memberships than the English-using churches, whether these be Protestant or non-Protestant, village or country.

Foreign-language churches also showed a higher percentage of males in their memberships. Of the churches using only

English, those of the villages reported 37 per cent. and those of the country 42.6 per cent. of their members as males. Of the foreign-language churches, those in the villages reported 44.7 per cent. and those in the country 47 per cent. of their members as males.

Fewer of the foreign-language churches than of the others were pastorless. While nearly one fourth of the English-using churches were without pastors at the time of the survey, only 10 per cent. of the foreign-language churches in the villages, and 20 per cent. of this group in the country, lacked ministers.

Fewer of the foreign-language churches had pastors serving large circuits. Only 16 per cent. of the English-using churches had pastors serving only one point each; while 35 per cent. of the foreign-language organizations reported full-time pastors.

Thirty-nine per cent. of the churches using English, and 73 per cent. of those using a foreign language, were served by pastors trained in college and seminary.

The foreign-language churches reported the longer pastorates. More than a third of the village churches, and more than two fifths of the country churches, in which English was used exclusively, had pastors who had been in their present parishes only a year or less. The same percentage of churches of the foreign-language group reported pastors in their present parishes six years or over, and in this group pastorates of two or three decades were not infrequent. One reason for this situation is, of course, that some of the foreign-language pastors are resident farmers interested in maintaining homes near their parishioners' farms. These men are usually more rural-minded and their goal is not so often the large city parish.

Of the English-using churches, those in the villages were nearly always more virile than those in the country. On the other hand, some of the strongest foreign-language churches were found in the country away from any centre. Churches of this type often had better equipment, more regular service, and more fully developed Sunday-schools and group organizations than either foreign-language or English-using village churches had.

In the country around Dewitte, Nebraska, for example, is a broad band of thrifty German farms. Four fine Lutheran churches serve as centres for four distinct neighborhoods.

Each has a full-time resident pastor who is also a farmer; and each carries a programme enthusiastically supported by large memberships.

By far the greater number of country members are affiliated with foreign-language churches. Very often one finds in a centrally located village a German Lutheran church whose members all live on farms, and whose parish extends out from the centre ten miles or more in every direction. The parishes of many Roman Catholic churches are also as extensive as this. In the village study, it was found that nearly two thirds of the members of English-using village churches lived in the villages, while only about half the members of the foreign-language village churches were villagers. It was the unusual foreign-language church that did not have a long line of country cars parked along the street on Sundays when services were being held. One reason for larger regular attendance in these churches lies in the fact that their pastors serve fewer points each than the pastors of English-using churches, and therefore are able to give more time and care to each charge.

With regard to equipment, valuation figures show some interesting comparisons. The average valuation of village churches in which English is used was \$13,294.00, a figure exceeding the average valuation of foreign-language village churches by \$4,312.00. In the open country, the average valuation of foreign-language churches, \$6,381.00, was twice the figure, \$3,178.00, for the English churches.

This same tendency held true in the matter of average expenditure per church. For all purposes, English-using churches in villages reported an average expense of \$2,711.40; while the average for the country churches of this group was \$643.43. Foreign-language churches showed in villages an average expenditure of \$2,275.24, and in the country, \$1,596.03; a figure more than double that of country churches in which services were in English.

The average salary paid to pastors in village churches in which services are conducted in English amounted to \$1,219.21; a higher average by \$283.14 than that reported by foreign-language churches. In the country, however, the average salary paid by foreign-language churches amounted to \$568.33, while that of English-using churches amounted to only \$335.84. The

differences are accounted for by the larger membership of the foreign-language churches, which makes for larger perquisites, and the fact that some of the pastors of the foreign-language churches increased their incomes materially by operating farms.

The annual per-capita contributions of members of village churches of the English-using type averaged \$15.83 for all purposes; while those of members of foreign-language churches averaged \$12.22. In the country the average for English-using churches was \$11.37, of foreign-language churches, \$13.26. The differences may, in the one case, be owing in part to the larger enrolments in the villages, which tend to lessen individual financial responsibility; and, in the other case, to the fact that in the country more of the foreign-language churches than of the others have resident pastors, which inevitably makes for better financial conditions and more systematic handling of funds.

A study of ninety village and 127 country foreign-language churches in twenty-five representative counties showed much the same tendencies. Over two thirds of these village churches, and 42 per cent. of the country churches, reported resident pastors at the time of the survey; and in both village and country the largest number of churches had pastors serving full time. Fifty-six of the ninety village churches and seventy-four of the 127 country churches had pastors who had received training in both college and seminary; only nine reported that their pastors were untrained.

Both the village study and the study of the representative counties showed that hardly any foreign-language churches were receiving aid from any mission board. Only three country churches and four village churches of the 149 included in the first-named study were receiving a little aid; and of the 217 churches of the county study, only nine in villages and four in the country were not self-supporting organizations. Where, however, an overhead denominational organization was really doing significant work in a foreign-language group, using the foreign language as well as English, as at San Gabriel, California, the subsidy given tended to be large. Thus in the case of the Presbyterian Church, which may be taken as an example, the average grant to churches serving the rural foreign-born

was \$519.00, a figure 30 per cent. above the average grant to churches engaged in work among rural native Americans.³

A comparison of the average English-using country church with the average foreign-language country church throws light on several phases of the problem of the success and failure of rural religion.

The average country church with services in English has a poor, bare little building, a non-resident part-time pastor, often a student, and irregular services attended largely by women. Its erstwhile leaders now very likely attend a church in a village or town; Sunday-school is carried on in a hit-or-miss fashion; organized activities are not possible. On the other hand, the average foreign-language country church has a well-painted building scrupulously cared for by members who in turn see that it is cleaned; that the brasses are not only kept bright but are covered after every service; that the hymnbooks are put away; and that all is in order. It has a resident pastor who often is no stranger to the soil and who knows his neighbors. Regular services are held and men, women, and children attend them. The Sunday-school is as important as the preaching service, and the teachers have for years been trained along religious-educational lines. Catechetical classes are held on Saturdays during part of the year for the training of future members. Often there is a parochial school in connection with the church, usually only a summer school, and the pastor or local leader trained for the work gives special attention to the principles of Christian living and church leadership.

It is not to be wondered at that the foreign-language country church has in its full strength often witnessed the decline of the neighboring church of distinctly American type. It is not without significance that the village study discovered scarcely any case of a Holy Roller type of church gaining foothold in a community where a strong liturgical church was active among people of foreign stock.

American churches have tried to ignore the traditions and background of the foreign-born and have been content simply to invite the foreigner to fit into their own particular mould. In fact, they have too often made the immigrant's willingness to conform to their American church procedure the basis of their

³Cf. Fry, *Home Mission Aid*.

thought about his acceptability as a member of the community, as is shown in more than one of the four case studies in Part II.

THE PROCESS OF CHANGE

As has been stated, the language question raises the most pressing problem of the American immigrant church. Taken as a whole, statistics show that foreign-language services still draw the largest audiences; yet the studies of the Institute are replete with examples of the decline of foreign-language churches engaged in fighting a losing battle against change.

In *A Stake in the Land*, Speek claims that the pastors and overhead authorities of the foreign-language churches were to a large degree championing the cause of the continuance of foreign language and foreign customs in their churches, and to some extent in the communities in which such churches were located.⁴ The present investigation found little or no activity of this sort. In its study of twenty-five representative counties made in 1921, evidence of the condition Mr. Speek describes as general was found in a few cases among the 217 foreign-language churches then surveyed; but where such efforts had been aggressive they had resulted in defeat, and sometimes in the death of the church. At that time there was, however, some irritation among the leaders of the foreign-language churches because of the general suspicion in which they were held during and immediately after the World War. The reaction of a Scandinavian minister, a neutral, is shown in the case study of Askov in Part II. This irritation on the part of some of the leaders in the foreign-language churches was perhaps heightened because the World War for a time greatly increased their already difficult task of holding together the old and the new generations, and sometimes brought what they deemed a too abrupt abandonment of the use of a foreign language.

But, in the main, even this irritation had disappeared in the foreign-language churches visited in this study and in the village surveys. For the most part officials and ministers, though sympathizing with the older generation, were on the side of the younger. They were working for a peaceable transition from old customs to new; for compromises resulting in an ever-increasing

⁴Cf. Speek, *A Stake in the Land* (New York, Harpers, 1921), chapter X. Mr. Speek visited about fifty communities in 1919.

use of English at church services; for a gradual relinquishing of loyalty to the traditions clung to by the older members; and for policies intended to keep their institutions strong under future English-speaking leadership.

While here and there the movement for change had failed or aroused conflict, these cases were the exceptions. The trend was the other way. The churches whose language, policy, and customs have been imported have in effect become influential in "Americanizing" their own members. If their progress has not been as rapid as persons of the Ku Klux Klan type of patriotism and religion might desire, it has been sociologically sound.

Furthermore, according to the testimony of field workers, one himself an immigrant, who knew the parent churches in the countries from which the immigrants came, the American churches differed markedly from those in Europe in their spirit, in their administration, and in their attitude toward many church matters. Their psychology was American, not European, or at least it was becoming so. This was as true of Roman Catholic churches as of Protestant churches.

Both the village study and the present study yielded many examples of this trend, and also of the inevitable conflict, loss, and sorrow occasioned by the transition. It was a Roman Catholic priest serving a large Polish parish in northern Wisconsin who said: "If you want to live in America, celebrate the Fourth of July; if you want to bring Poland to America, go back to Poland." This expressed the attitude of many church leaders both Protestant and Catholic.

In Alta, Iowa, a Swedish Free Mission church and a Danish Lutheran church were both found in a dying condition with only a handful of the older members left, victims of the keen desire of the young people to be recognized as American in their church life as in all else. In each the services were still being conducted in the language of the fatherland and most of the members were retired farmers who knew little English. Some of the young people were drifting to a larger Swedish church, some to a Methodist, and some to a Presbyterian church. The larger Swedish church used both English and Swedish in its services, carried on a broad social programme, and was served by a young, progressive pastor who was working with the trend of the times, not against it. At the Methodist and Presbyterian

churches, the young people from the dying churches met their friends with whom they worked and played in school. The older people could not understand why their children had become disloyal; they were discouraged with youth in general, and were hurt by the barriers thrown up between the two generations; but still they were loyal to their own little organization that had served them so well for fifty years or longer.

The pathetic part of the struggle resulting in increased lack of sympathy between parents and children, here as elsewhere, lies in the fact that the older people are helpless to a large extent. They do not know English as their children know it; they do not feel at home in the new type of church. As one staunch old member of a German Lutheran church remarked, "It seems not religion to me in those American churches."

In some cases, however, even people of the older generation have demanded recognition in English-using churches. In a northern New York village predominantly Dutch in population, many old and young, though some of them can understand English very little, have become affiliated with the Presbyterian and Methodist churches. They have done so chiefly because "it seemed more American." The Dutch Reformed Church was a struggling organization receiving aid from a mission board, though there were enough Dutch-speaking people in the community to build up a strong organization.

Here and there were evidences of coming union of foreign-language and English-using denominations. The same rector serves the Swedish church and the English Episcopal church of Litchfield, Minnesota; and a union is looked for in the near future. In West Salem, Illinois, two Moravian churches, one with German and the other with English services, which split over the language question in 1858, successfully reunited in 1915 and retained only the English services.

This procedure, used only in a few places thus far, may eventually become generally necessary for foreign-language denominations. With immigration so greatly lessened, the language barrier, which still holds certain Lutheran bodies apart, will eventually cease to be a bar to union. Indeed, the movement for the consolidating of some of the Lutheran bodies is already under way, and the United Synod is the result of the first mergers.

In many areas, changes have come about gradually and without serious opposition. A country Lutheran church in La Porte, Iowa, for instance, has been fifteen years in transition. In 1910, the parochial school had forty-five pupils, of whom fourteen could neither read nor write English. The pastor-teacher began by holding one English period a day. After the first opposition died down, a second period was added. Before the opening of the war, German was dropped entirely. Gradually, with the change in the school, church services were changed. In 1915, it was learned that a neighboring country group was planning to have a consolidated school and that the district was to include part of the Lutheran neighborhood. To save the integrity of the German group, and to keep the parish intact, the Lutheran people voted down this proposition and adopted another, which made possible the building of a consolidated school for their own area, across the road from the church, "established to save the religious life of our children."

Eighty per cent. of the children enrolled at this school are Lutherans; and they are very proud of their programme of religious instruction which continues even though the parochial school has now been given up. During the regular school, the pastor spends week-day afternoons at the church where the school children come in turn by grades for courses in religious education. A school celebration is really a church event, and as much of the commencement programme is held in the church as in the school.

In some cases the language question has created serious difficulties, not so much within as among churches, as in Stromberg, Nebraska, which from its founding has been predominantly Swedish. In the early days the Swedish Baptist, the Swedish Evangelical, and the Swedish Methodist churches all held services in Swedish. Soon English-using denominations of the same faiths came into the field. There were still six churches in this village of 1,161 population. Rivalry was keen. During the last five years the foreign-language and English-using Baptist churches attempted to reunite and were in a fair way to accomplish the union when the question of a new building was introduced. The old antagonism, born of years of competition because of language difference, again developed and the movement was defeated.

The location of churches has had much to do with the degree of change. The church in the country, away from rival organizations, retains a foreign language much longer than the church in the village or town.

In the village of Waupaca, Wisconsin, a Danish Baptist church stands abandoned, as its younger members have joined churches with English services. In the country near by, a Presbyterian church has been supplanted by a Norwegian Lutheran, and a Methodist church has declined where a German Lutheran has thrived. The foreign-language church in the country has a far better opportunity to retain group loyalty because its constituency is made up largely of one class. The pews are held by farmer families; and in the pulpit is usually a farmer pastor.

In villages, competition and the pull of other agencies make it virtually imperative for churches to change if they are to survive. Church authority there is necessarily lessened; while in the country it often remains strong and still causes the church services to be conducted in a foreign language that is scarcely ever heard in the near-by community centre.

Briefly, the foreign-stock church holds considerable promise of continued vitality. It is passing through a long period of transition, it is true, but devotion to the service of the Church as a whole has not greatly diminished. Its young people, the new generation, unlike many of our native young Americans, have shown little evidence of a tendency to cast aside their responsibility as future church leaders. They hold their religion in first place as a matter of course. But they have become accustomed to march under the American flag and do things in the American way; they demand that their church shall be an American institution; and more and more they are having their way.

PART II
STUDIES OF INDIVIDUAL VILLAGES

This part is devoted to studies of four communities of immigrant farmers, each community presenting problems that differ widely from those found in any of the others. To assure an independent approach in each case, the studies were made by different persons.

Castle Hayne describes an unusual experiment in colonization in the South. Askov is a community of Danes in Minnesota settled under the auspices of a Danish society. Petersburg is a study of a foreign group in an area in which the native-born were especially tenacious of their position and prestige. Sunderland affords a study of the breakdown of the group-solidarity of a community of Poles in New England.

CASTLE HAYNE

A Study of an Experiment in the Colonization of Foreign-born Farmers in North Carolina

BY ROBERT W. McCULLOCH

When half a dozen little settlements of immigrant farmers were established in North Carolina about twenty years ago they were looked upon as foolhardy undertakings unadapted to the conditions and needs of the region and certain to meet with disaster. Some of them to-day cannot be described as successes, and even the others have had their full share of failure; yet in what they have done and what they have tried to do, in their methods, their misadventures, and their experiments in readjustment, they have worked out what many experts regard as solutions of the two big disturbing problems of the South—how to make farming pay, and how to increase the country population by placing farmers on the land under conditions that will insure them success and contentment.

Federal and state authorities, agricultural experts, and men of affairs now engaged in a concerted effort to restore life and prosperity to the rural South believe that these immigrant settlements have shown them the way.

The colonies, all near Wilmington in New Hanover and Pender counties, have been from the first separate units of a single enterprise which has had behind it a larger purpose than the mere successful placing of farmers on new land. Hugh MacRae, a native of Wilmington, who started the project and carried it through, had in mind at the outset the needs of the South, where even then the system of farming was more backward than in any other part of the United States.

The plantation owners in the Southern states did not work in their fields. They left that to the croppers and the tenants, who raised nothing but cotton or tobacco or peanuts, using a primitive, one-crop system of cultivation that was robbing

the soil of its fertility, reducing year by year the amount of crops raised, making the conditions of life in the country harder, and driving more people from the farms to the cities.

Moreover, there was no incoming tide of rural folk to replace those who were moving to the cities. Colonization in the Southern states was an old and forgotten thing relegated to the histories. Through several decades the great movement of population had been westward, and the South had remained far away from the wide path of national development. Its oversupply of Negro labour, and the resulting low wages and low purchasing power of the workers, had kept it from attracting any of the millions who were being drawn from Europe and from the Eastern states by the lure of free land, high wages, and quickly acquired wealth in the West.

COLONIZATION OF LONG AGO

But North Carolina had millions of untilled acres, some of them once cultivated, worn out, and abandoned; and the Wilmington district had as its share several large tracts, stretching for miles along Cape Fear River. One of these, on the northeast branch of the river, had already played an interesting part in the colonization of the Carolinas. Its "pleasantness" and its "grass as high as a man's middle and in some places as high as his shoulders" so impressed the three English commissioners who were sent from the Barbadoes in 1663 to find new territory for settlement that they promptly bought the entire region—"the land and River of Cape Fair"—from the Indians.

Afterward this tract and the others were converted into great plantations whose rich fields, in the course of a few generations, were robbed of their fertility and finally abandoned to be taken over again by the forest. The tract of historic pleasantness and high grass was one of those selected by MacRae for resettlement. But styles in colonization had changed with the centuries, and here, where the characteristic farming methods of the South had left their completed record of productiveness, depletion, and abandonment, the newest style of all, and a kind of agriculture new to the region, were to be tried out. The big plantation had had its day, and the small farm owned and intensively cultivated by an experienced farmer who would work his own fields was to be put to the test.

COLONIES OF A NEW KIND

MacRae, a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, believed in using experts at every turn. He had experts examine the soil, and they found that it could be made highly productive by fertilization and proper handling. The plan was to divide the land into ten-acre farms and drain them; then to bring on the settlers and let each one clear his own tract and get it into condition for cultivation, the company to furnish the mule and implements needed, to provide the financial assistance the settler might require during this unproductive period, to build his house and barn, and eventually to supply him with fertilizer and seeds for the first planting. The company was also to have experts at hand to advise about crops and tillage and to aid in forming coöperative associations for buying and marketing.

But the greatest need of all was for expert farmers; and the farmers of the South knew nothing about intensive agriculture and were not interested.

THE FIRST IMMIGRANTS

While tracts for five rather widely separated colonies were being drained, the company sent representatives to Europe to select and bring over experienced farmers of different nationality groups. The idea was that each group, if given a separate location, would introduce the crops and the methods of cultivation to which its members were accustomed, so that in the five colonies Southern farmers would be able to see demonstrations of the best crops and the best technique Europe had to offer, as well as the results of the different methods.

Each colony was established on a railroad and had a highway running through it. Some immigrant families were brought from northern Italy and placed on farms in what is now the St. Helena colony, twenty-one miles northeast of Wilmington. A few families from Holland were located at Van Eden, twenty-seven miles out in the same direction; and a little settlement of Greeks, all of them men, was established about nine miles from the city at what was called Marathon. Northwest of Wilmington, and about nineteen miles out, a colony of Germans was established. The fifth of the original colonies, Artesia, located twenty-two miles beyond the Germans, was settled by some

English bachelors who soon quit farming and were succeeded by a group of Hungarian families.

It happened that Wilmington was a city that had no farming region surrounding it; consequently these immigrant groups were set down in the woods, most of them a considerable distance from any other people except a few Negroes who, in small and widely scattered clearings, were raising cotton in the usual soil-depleting way.

TRYING OUT THE PLAN

The five little colonies soon ran into difficulties. But the fact that they were separate units of a single venture proved fortunate, for every lesson learned by hard experience at one place could be turned to use elsewhere.

The part of the plan requiring each colonist to clear his own land did not work out well. The experienced farmer from Europe knew nothing about the pioneer part of the farm-making programme. In his own country the land had been reclaimed and put under cultivation by his ancestors generations before his time. Here in the North Carolina woods he was inexpert; and it was not easy to teach him the arts of the woodsman.

Some of the immigrants who had been brought over at considerable expense became discouraged and left the colonies. The Greeks all drifted away to the cities in an astonishingly short time. Eventually a group of Poles took their places.

There was another early disappointment. It had been expected that many relatives and friends of the colonists who had intended to follow them would soon arrive; but few came.

To find in Europe and bring over here all the people of different nationalities that were needed to give this experiment in colonization a chance of success would have cost too much. New colonists were therefore sought in Northern cities where many immigrants who had been field laborers or tenant farmers before coming to America were earning good wages in mills and factories, saving money, and looking forward eagerly to the time when they might return to the land and become owners of farms. By choosing the cities, it was possible to find the right kind of settlers of different nationalities; and as these came each, if possible, was placed on a farm in the settlement of his own countrymen.

All the colonies developed slowly; and as the years went by certain features of the original plan, and various general theories regarding colonization, were subjected to considerable stress and strain. Sometimes the results were the same in all the colonies; sometimes there were surprising differences in the way things worked out. And from time to time the original plan was changed in certain respects under the light of experience.

THE LESSONS OF EXPERIENCE

One fact soon became evident in each of the settlements. This was that an unmarried man is not likely to become a successful farmer. He is inclined to loaf on the job, get behind in his work and his payments, and to end by hiking for a land of ready-made meals and regular wages. Of course, a few bachelors hung on, and a few got married and settled down to hard work like the best of their neighbors; but it was soon evident that farming is essentially a family affair. When this fact was established the company made it a rule to sell farms to none but married men.

The very first year's experience showed that it was unwise to place colonists on uncleared land. This was not entirely because the immigrants were inexperienced in logging, getting out stumps, and making ready for the first crop. The long period of mere preparation, with no crops and no profits coming in, was disheartening, and caused some of the immigrants to leave, some who would undoubtedly have stayed on if they could have started in at real farming.

The company, therefore, altered its plans to make it possible for the newcomer to plant and harvest and get in his first profits quickly. Now it drains and clears the land, takes out the stumps and roots, limes the tract heavily, adds the amount of acid phosphate the soil requires, and, if possible, ploughs three times and plants a cover crop of soy beans and a fall crop of rye before letting a colonist take possession.

For some time it continued to build houses for the settlers, to accept very small payments down, and to wait for the rest of the purchase money to come out of the future profits of the farm. The result was that many mere drifters came who had failed at other occupations, and who had never saved money anywhere. These people made little or no effort here, sowed a

crop of discontent in the community perhaps, and finally drifted away, leaving behind them records of failure hurtful to the colonies.

The company now picks its families with care. It wants men who have saved enough to make substantial first payments and to build their own houses and barns. It wants these men to have wives who know what farming and life in the country mean to the woman of the household, and who nevertheless seem willing to spend the rest of their days on farms.

The feature of the plan requiring the employment of experts, however, has never been changed. Even though the immigrants were experienced farmers, they really did need advice and aid at every turn. The expert knowledge they brought over from Europe did not fit them for immediate success under the new conditions. The soil was different from that in their home lands and required different fertilization and tillage; the rainfall in the Wilmington district was much heavier than most of them had been accustomed to, and the growing season was longer. Consequently the agricultural experts employed by the company had to be always ready with advice and help during the early days of the venture.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLONIES

But in each of the settlements, men, women, and children worked early and late, the cultivated fields grew larger and more productive from year to year, and the colonists prospered. At the same time each colony developed individual characteristics and went its own way; and some of them later met with misfortunes not shared by the others.

The Italians at St. Helena were all engaged in grape culture and the making of wine. When Prohibition came they gave up in despair, abandoned their homes and their vineyards, and scattered to find work in industrial towns. Only two of the twenty-five families remained; and although grape-growing was soon found to be even more profitable after Prohibition than before, only two of the families that had left returned.

This unhappy experience, and others caused by out-of-season weather conditions and unfavorable markets for particular crops, made it evident that diversification is much safer than any one-crop system, even on a small, intensively cultivated

farm in the South. So everything that happened taught some kind of lesson.

At Van Eden the Hollanders still clumped about in their wooden shoes, spoke only Dutch, and required the services of an interpreter whenever one of the colonizing company's experts tried to get helpful advice across to them. Each one-nationality group had stuck to the speech, the customs, the viewpoints, and, for an unexpectedly long time, to the typical garb of the homeland. They had their own foreign-language schools and churches and remained strangers to American ways. Few ever took even the first step toward citizenship.

THE MAKESHIFT COLONY

But almost from the beginning something was developing to which little attention was paid at first, but which eventually became of the greatest importance. Every now and then an immigrant appeared who refused to be satisfied with any of the farms in the settlement in which he belonged. In cases of this kind the rule requiring that all people of the same nationality be placed in the same colony was disregarded and the objector was placed in what is now Castle Hayne, where there was a comparatively small tract of about a thousand acres available for the purpose, including the holdings which the Greeks had abandoned.

Into this makeshift settlement went Hollanders, Poles, Italians, Danes, Hungarians, Russians, and all other misfits who happened along. And from the start this mixed colony struck out on lines of its own.

Here the services of an interpreter could very soon be dispensed with. In an unusually short time the men were exchanging information and advice on personal and community problems and happenings of all kinds; and because they had no other common language, they were forced to use English. The children of the several nationalities were attending the same public school where, amusingly enough, they were making the soft drawl of Dixie their own. Even the women were beginning to venture across the local international boundary lines; but with caution, far less frequently, and never with the same friendliness and understanding. Racial barriers still stood about the homes long after they had vanished from the playgrounds, the fields, and the market-place.

THE MIXING PROCESS

At any rate there was something doing here that was unlike anything in the other settlements. The accidental mixing together of foreign folk of many kinds in this colony had set up the same conditions that had made the United States from the beginning a melting pot of the peoples of the world; and the pot was boiling merrily. Here, however, the mixing was effected under circumstances that gave the colony somewhat the character of a laboratory experiment in which at least a few of the melting processes and their results could be held under close observation.

In the first place, each immigrant soon discovered that, although he might have generations of farming tradition and practice behind him, he still had a great deal to learn. His neighbors had special knowledge about certain crops and ways of handling them that he was eager to acquire, particularly when he discovered that it would mean increased profits to him.

An active get-together movement quickly developed out of this keen interest in what the other fellow was doing. It concerned itself with problems of the fields before planting time and those of the growing season, with problems of the shipping station and the markets beyond, and made it easy for the company to help the farmers organize a coöperative marketing association and adapt their producing and selling operations to American ways and needs. It also showed the advantage of small farms that grouped their owners near enough to one another to let them meet frequently and compare experiences.

The desire to get every possible bit of information of any value from their neighbors caused these foreign-language people to establish and enforce the rule that at all meetings of the community's coöperative marketing association no language should be spoken except English, even in a casual conversation between individuals. No one was willing to lose so much as a listener-in's chance to pick up anything worth having in the way of information.

Among the Castle Hayne colonists were a few who came to the settlement with little or no knowledge of farming. Their neighbors, as well as the company's experts, kept them from

making costly mistakes. Their success established the fact that a novice at farming has a chance to make good in a prospering, well-ordered, small-farm colony that contains a fair number of real farmers.

Out of the get-together movement came a local fair at which for several years the community's best live stock and field products were exhibited. It was held regularly until the community horizon widened and the colonists became exhibitors at the annual county fair.

Here also the melting pot stimulated Americanization. The heads of these immigrant families took out their first papers quickly, and most of them have now been admitted to full citizenship.

Of the ninety-four younger members of the foreign families here in February, 1927, fifty were pupils in the consolidated school of the district and six attended high school in Wilmington. A considerable proportion of the others were not of school age.

When the results of the melting-pot method became apparent and were compared with those in the one-nationality colonies, the practice of grouping according to kind was discontinued. Thereafter all newcomers were placed, if possible, in the St. Helena colony, where there was plenty of land for future development. There the deliberate mixing of people of different nationalities seems to be producing results similar to those where the process was started accidentally.

CASTLE HAYNE PROSPERS

In Castle Hayne, however, the experiment has been carried further. Before half of the thousand acres owned by the company at this place had been sold, the colonists had shown that they could handle more than ten acres successfully and were clamoring for larger tracts. The company therefore removed its original restriction on the amount of land any one farmer could buy and raised the limit for all the colonies to twenty acres, provided the prospective purchaser could give satisfactory evidence of his ability to make good.

The Castle Hayne holdings average twenty acres, one or two colonists having managed to get hold of three ten-acre tracts instead of two. All of these, without an exception, were fully

paid for several years ago; at which time the company, having no hold-over financial interests, withdrew from all participation in the colony's affairs, its aid no longer being needed. For a considerable period, therefore, this colony has been entirely on its own.

Now on many of the Castle Hayne farms work goes on every month in the year. On most of them lettuce is planted in late February or early March and is followed by beets, carrots, and snap beans or cucumbers, nearly the entire crop in each case being shipped to Northern markets. Later a forage crop is planted. Nevertheless, homeland experience and individual preference are still in evidence. One man had worked as a wage-earner in a Northern city long enough to acquire the weekly-income habit. By careful planning, he succeeded in making his farm produce every week something he could either ship to distant markets or sell in Wilmington. Now that there is an embargo in this country on Holland-grown bulbs, seven of the Dutch farmers have gone into bulb-raising on an extensive scale, and a Pole has followed their example. Two other Hollanders are very successful nurserymen; and five of the colonists have dairies.

Each of these little farms has its cow, its chickens, and its home garden, and so far as food for the family is concerned the colonists, therefore, unlike farmers generally throughout the South, are nearly self-sustaining.

One of the most interesting features of the mixing process is that fifteen of the fifty-three families in this colony are of native American stock. Of the immigrant families, one is French, two are from Bulgaria, two from Russia, five from Hungary, nine from Holland, and nineteen from Poland. There are 250 persons of all ages, of whom 170 are of foreign birth or the children of foreign-born parents.

These people still work hard in their fields. There are times of planting and harvesting when hundreds of Negroes are daily brought out from the city to the colony's little farms. But all through the season the immigrants themselves stay in their fields from dawn until dark. It is still not an uncommon thing to see a baby lie cradled all day in a furrow or between rows of growing crops, except when the mother rests from her labor at nursing time to hold it to her breast. There is no longer need for

all to drudge at Castle Hayne; yet there is still some complaint that children are too frequently kept out of school during the rush seasons. When asked why he and his sons, both prosperous farmers, continued to work so hard and such long hours, one of these toiling immigrants answered: "My people all lived on the same piece of land for generations and never owned any. Here we own our own land." This in a state in which more than 45 per cent. of the native farmers are tenants!

ADVANTAGES OF DIVERSIFICATION

Castle Hayne now ships as many as twenty-five carloads of lettuce a day to the North during the marketing of this crop. Other produce follows from the same land—beets, carrots, beans, and cucumbers in their respective seasons. On truck crops that passed through the colony's shipping station in one period of ninety days, shortly before this study was made, the freight charges amounted to nearly \$65,000.

The individual farmers are thrifty. Most of them have respectable bank accounts and are careful investors in stocks and bonds. Some of them have become prosperous enough to be called rich.

In late February, 1927, while this study was in process, a brief period of cold weather came with the heaviest snowfall the region had seen in many years, and caught hundreds of acres of lettuce well started in the open fields. To the single-crop farmer this would have brought disaster. "Ho!" exclaimed a smiling Pole, back at work with a cultivator and a mule after the snow had gone, "you wait; we do very well. Last year I make six thousand dollars net money on this farm. This year I lose mebbby one fourth my lettuce; but I do good on rest and make more than last year. You wait!" And this early-season loss meant no more to his neighbors than to him.

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

In these small-farm communities there is no problem of the isolated woman with children deprived of companionship and educational advantages, which has long been recognized as one of the chief causes of discontent and farm abandonment in the South.

Nine of the farmers at Castle Hayne are of the second genera-

tion; and there have been two intermarriages, a Hollander with an American girl, and a Polish girl with an American.

The Roman Catholic church has seventy-five members in the community, most of them from Polish families. A priest from Wilmington celebrates mass and delivers a sermon in English once a month. Thirty children are in the catechetical class.

A Presbyterian church has two services a month conducted by a minister and two by lay leaders. The attendance varies between thirty and fifty; and there is a Sunday-school with fifty members, twenty-five of whom are of foreign stock.

The community has an annual picnic and there are about a dozen dances each year; but except for a girl's club with fifteen members, ten of whom are foreign-born, and for a small group of women who meet irregularly, there are no social organizations in the colony. A troop of Girl Scouts that once was active has been disbanded and cooking classes that used to be held at the community hall have been discontinued.

But prosperity has brought the Castle Hayne families interests and activities outside the settlement boundaries. They have automobiles, are on an improved state highway, and find entertainment and recreation in the city and at one or another of the fine ocean beaches near Wilmington.

EXODUS FROM SOUTHERN FARMS

In the twenty-two years since the first of the newly arrived immigrants began to clear their few wild acres, farming throughout the South has gone from bad to worse. Still the plantation owners do not work in their fields, and the croppers and tenants who have remained on the land stick to their old, primitive, and destructive methods of culture. The soil has become more depleted and the yields smaller.

During those years the movement of the people away from the farms became an exodus. Thousands of white croppers left with their families to work in factories and cotton mills. The boll weevil came to ravage the cotton fields; and hundreds of thousands of Negroes left the farming regions to find work in cities South and North, many of them because plantation owners could find neither work nor food for them and urged them to go.

While the South has made great strides in industry, it does not produce enough food for its own use, and is spending annually for foodstuffs raised chiefly in the North and the West an amount estimated at \$1,500,000,000. "Nowhere is the lack of local food products more visible than on the farms themselves," declared a commission, appointed to advise the Department of the Interior concerning a general farm colonization plan for the Southern states, in a report transmitted to Congress on February 26, 1927, by Secretary Work. "It is possible to travel long distances through cotton plantations without seeing a fence, a barn, a cow, or a vegetable garden; there are comparatively few chickens and pigs. The poverty of the tenants and their lack of social organization in many localities produces an environment dispiriting to themselves and to prospective settlers."

For many years agricultural colleges, county agents, and editors of farming papers have been urging the desirability of diversified and intensive farming in the South; but something more than urging has been needed. Hugh MacRae knew this twenty years ago and set out to find the something more. In return for the opportunity he gave the Castle Hayne immigrants, they gave him what he wanted—a demonstration of successful farming and a model plan of farm colonization.

A GENERAL COLONIZATION PLAN

In January, 1926, he came forward with a suggestion that the Southern states profit by this example. In an address at the annual meeting of the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce he said:

"Perhaps the ideal programme which will cover both land settlement and agricultural development in the South is to perfect, through Southern chambers of commerce, an interstate organization which will promote the establishment of farm communities in coöperation with the government and the several states. These farm communities should be located near progressive towns and cities and in some measure financed by the leading men living near where the communities are located.

"These successful communities of intensive farmers will demonstrate—

"1. The almost unlimited possibility of diversification.

"2. That scientific farming is sufficiently profitable to develop a basis for satisfying social life in the country.

"3. That group settlement permits of coöperation in selling and buying, which is almost necessary to success.

"4. That such communities can be financed without loss, and with greater safety than is experienced in financing the isolated farmer.

"Ten such communities of say one hundred families each, specializing in selected types of agriculture, would be sufficient to revolutionize the agriculture of any state."

Before the spring of 1927, six states—North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and Tennessee—whose combined loss of land under cultivation between 1920 and 1925 amounted to 13,800,000 acres, had organized to put the plan into effect. In each the chambers of commerce and other organizations of a number of cities had formed local committees. In each there was a state committee headed by the governor. And all these groups were represented by a general committee of which MacRae was chairman.

Eighty tracts of land believed to be suitable for settlement, and varying in size from a few thousand to 250,000 acres, had been listed; and in each state the governor's committee had selected one as "fairly typical of the needs and opportunities for reclamation which neglected lands of the state present."

It was to examine these six tracts that the commission was appointed by Secretary Work. That body approved the selection of the colony sites tentatively, recommended that surveys and soil analyses be made, and that the Federal government coöperate with the South in a demonstration land reclamation and colonization scheme of the general kind proposed.

Without waiting for further Federal and state action, the Chamber of Commerce of Selma, Alabama, announced its purpose to undertake on its own responsibility the establishment near that city of a demonstration small-farm colony in furtherance of the general plan. Similar proposals were under consideration in other cities in the South in March, 1927, when the Institute's study was completed.

WHAT THESE IMMIGRANTS HAVE DONE

This concerted effort to revolutionize Southern agriculture rests, in the last analysis, upon the belief that a comparatively small number of cases of successful farming are contagious, and that even the most backward community cannot remain immune.

Castle Hayne furnishes grounds for this belief. When the colony was started there were three houses along the nine miles of highway leading to the city, and two tiny worn-out fields of cotton. All the rest of the land, which was still kept in large holdings, had gone back to brush and timber.

At first the example set by the colonists had little effect. Several years passed before a native farmer began to clear a tract on that country road. Presently, however, another decided to follow suit, then others. Now there are many flourishing farms along the way, each cultivated intensively and as nearly as possible according to the methods of the colonists; for when it was demonstrated that one need not be born in a foreign land to succeed in this new kind of agriculture, and that many were able to make money at the venture, the small-farm idea began to spread. All the old, long-disused plantation land on both sides of the road between Castle Hayne and the city has at last been cut up into ten-acre tracts and sold to men who are farming or who expect to farm. In many other places here and there about Wilmington, other old-style farmers have also adopted the methods of the colonists.

The Commission appointed by Secretary Work was requested to "determine how rural communities having a definite agricultural programme and organized to coöperate in social and business affairs can best be created."

"The most impressive demonstration of what is possible in the South," it answered, "are the farm colonies near Wilmington, N. C."—of which Castle Hayne is the most impressive example.

Most studies of the rural immigrant are necessarily limited to finding out what this country has done for him, for his wife, and his children, and what the results have been to them. One cannot help seeing that in a material way the country has done very well for these people of Castle Hayne, at least that it has

made it possible for them to do very well indeed for themselves; and that they have found the results of their American contacts and experiences heartening and worth while in other ways. But the unusual discovery here is that a few foreign-born farmers, aided and guided by a man of vision and patience, have done something of outstanding importance for the country.

ASKOV

A Study of a Rural Colony of Danes in Minnesota

BY DAVID LLOYD

To say that the language question supplied the motive for the founding of the Danish colony at Askov, Minnesota, might be careless, yet it does conveniently sum up the motives and become their symbol. The people of Denmark are such linguists as a population of less than three and a half millions set on a focal point of West European tongues is bound to be; and no linguist lets a language go. But in the national memory of Danes the free speaking of Danish is, of course, more; on it hinges much of the deepest feeling in their recent history. A Dane hardly thinks back to the defeat by Prussia in 1864 and the loss of Schleswig without counting as part of the Danish answer Schröder's founding of the high school at Askov just north of the Schleswig border, or without an equal thrill to Kold's founding, twenty years earlier, the high school at Rödning in a then still contested Schleswig, and the revered leader, Grundtvig, making it a symbol—a spiritual *Dannevirke*, he called it. The ancient Dane Rampart, fortifying the German frontier, had supplied the name of a polemic journal Grundtvig had edited in his thirties; it still supplies its name to Danish newspapers in America.

The cult of the mother tongue is not a rampart to the symbol-loving Dane in America unless attacked. The World War, which restored Danish Schleswig to neutral Denmark, stirred in time some of our newspapers and legislatures with a Speak-English campaign. One of the Danes who took part in the discussion was the Rev. H. C. Strandskov, the first resident pastor of the Askov colony, where he had served for the better part of two years, beginning in 1909. He put the case with an unmistakable gusto:

"The kaiser tried to make his empire a melting pot. He utterly failed and deserved to fail. Many might-intoxicated, despotic rulers before him tried to make their potentialities melting pots; but, happily, none ever made a success of their experiment. It is indeed sad to think of it, that in this land of the free, in this land whose declaration of independence and whose constitution assures to every citizen law-provided and law-protected right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, there should be found a single sane and enlightened person who should dare to stigmatize our land a melting pot."

Copies of a pamphlet in which this spokesman recently collected nine of his newspaper contributions under the general head "Americanism" (a reprint issued from the press of the weekly newspaper called *The Askov American*) are cherished by members of his early congregation. It would be difficult to find in Askov anyone not in sympathy with the following challenge:

"If everything characteristically American in agriculture, in lumbering, in mining, in industry, in commerce, in rapid transportation, in practical means of communication, in ability to apply science to practical use, in military and naval efficiency, so far has been developed by a mixture of racial stocks with one official civil language and with many languages in their private affairs—why should not this marvellous development be allowed to go on undisturbed to still more glorious results? Why interfere with the progress of this development with melting-pot theories and doctrinairing about only one language?"

Possibly the deliberate emphasis which in the later history of Denmark has been laid on the impulse to nationalism may have done less to raise up political partisans of the little kingdom than to produce intense nationalists in principle. Converse with any of the well-poised leaders at Askov and you gather an impression that a personal adjustment has been made almost without effort between the tenacious loyalties we loosely call racial and the more facile attachments national in a strict sense. Talk to some solitary settler in his bleak terrain of stumps and brush and unharvested field stone—a man, say, who grows his crops single-handed, and who, while frying his bachelor

dinner over a roaring wood stove, will give you his deliberated judgment on the foibles both of stand-pat newspapers and radical weeklies—the impression received will be one of an equally thoroughgoing adjustment made with perhaps more friction. For in such a substratum of popular opinion a fiercely American nationalism leaps to view. If elsewhere the rough-and-ready hundred-per-center has his naïve estimate of “foreigners,” his counterweight here will lavish an equal irreverence on the “old Colonial stock,” and find the keystone of our protracted independence and expansion in the hyphen.

MOTIVE OF FOUNDERS

Whether or not the precarious boast of being new is simply the inveterate expression of colonial self-consciousness, the community at Askov in a wholesome way is self-conscious enough to welcome opportunities of stating its faith. And the motive of its founding is one of the things it untiringly exerts itself to make clear. A statement contributed to a bulletin recently prepared by the county farm bureau for distribution at the state fair in St. Paul, extolling the resources of fifteen communities of the county, has this to say:

“About twenty years ago a group of Danes started this colony (Askov) in order to attract that class of Danes who valued the spiritual inheritance of their mother country highly, and who wanted to find a place where all the good and valuable ideas as to this life, and life beyond, might be preserved and propagated in their children. . . . We have worked hard to gather our own people here, not in order to segregate them from America and American ideals, but in order to have a place where all the good we have brought with us from the mother country may thrive and bear fruit, and where we may, in some degree, inculcate some of these ideals into our friends who came from other lands to found homes in America.”

In an utterance prepared in 1924 one of the present officials of the village, while defining a cultural motive, is more specific as to means:

“The Danish Peoples Society not only aimed to secure for the prospective settlers good land at a nominal price,

where they might live and prosper, but also to found a real home for the people who had emigrated from Denmark. A home where might be propagated everything good and worth while that these people had brought with them from the country of their forefathers. There was the Lutheran church inspired with new life by S. F. Grundtvig; there were the ideas of the people's high schools of Denmark, with all the beautiful ideals they stand for; the school that is attended by the majority of the boys and girls of the farm in Denmark, and where they learn to love literature, art, and all that is good and grand."

If these statements sufficiently describe the general character of the motive, the mention of the Danish Peoples Society should serve to remind us that the colony is not self-propelled to its founding. The organization (*Dansk Folke Samfund i Amerika*) charges itself with the oversight of the welfare and progress of the colonies and settlements which, banding the country from Perth Amboy, N. J., to Solvang, Calif., are centred on the region of Iowa and Nebraska. The Society's Yearbook for 1926 lists a membership of 313, of which 80 are credited to Chicago, 40 to Dalum, Alberta; 27 to Askov, Minn., and the remaining 166 to ten towns in South Dakota, Nebraska, Minnesota, Iowa, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Askov is represented on the council of five members and is the residence of one of the twenty district presidents. Such a project as the founding of a new colony becomes preëminently the Society's concern. The need and the general situation have been canvassed at intervals of about ten years. In 1915 a committee made a seven weeks' tour through Colorado, Montana, Washington, Oregon, California, and New Mexico, but without advising a new settlement at the time.

SELECTION OF SITE

The Society's committee of three, which in 1905 selected the colony site at Askov, had included parts of the Atlantic seaboard in its study of available tracts of land. It had viewed tide-water land which bloomed like an oasis wherever, but only where, a caravan of millionaires encamped. It had been hither and yon, north and south, east and west; and like a jury it had all to agree. The topography of Pine County, Minnesota—

slightly rolling, inclined to small lakes, grown if not with beech and willow, at least with birch and poplar—may have seemed not dissimilar to parts of Denmark; to some travelled settlers the landscape more nearly recalls Sweden. The dark sandy loam showed good fertility, enhanced by the wood ash laid down twelve years previously in a devastating forest fire, the Hinckley fire of 1894, which had also reduced the swamp area, burning out peat beds and exposing the soil.

The voluntary settlers, recruited partly by advertisement, still hold a fatalist though good-natured grudge against the Society's committee for its choice of so stony a site. The road section boss at a town board meeting has his joke about the public expense of picking stones which the farmer has piled over the line. The farm owner lays the cost of his driven well and windmill to the committee's choice of land, not his own. To strike the sandstone base the drill is sunk to an average depth of one hundred feet. Misleading buried boulders struck at more accessible levels result in water supplies tapped from surface accumulations. In general the iodine is insufficient; there is a tendency to goitre; the county agent must prescribe potassium iodide for the watering troughs of hogs, and an added expense of seventy to ninety cents per hog shipped is enough to make his gospel a stumbling-block to some traditionalists.

The presence of embedded boulders and copious pebble stone marks, of course, the visits of the ice sheets which in glacial periods laid down the conditioning elements for farm life at Askov. In a brief study of part of Minnesota made in 1919 by the state, in coöperation with the Federal geological survey, Pine County is described as "somewhat unique" in being encroached upon by each of the three ice fields of the so-called Wisconsin stage. The Superior lobe of the Labrador sheet edged over a narrow northern band of the county, and the Keewatin ice field, descending the Red River valley of the Dakota border, invaded the county on its southern margin. But most of the county exposes the earlier visit of an ice sheet called the Patrician, stretching from the iron-ore highlands north of Lake Superior; it laid down a red drift of volcanic and crystalline rock, the loosely textured till of commingled stones, clay, and sand, which supports the excellent grass land approved by the Danish committee.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AREA

Stones and sand had properly no terrors for the settlers: Denmark's streets are paved with glacial cobble. But the Pine County ice fields have another claim to mention in the effect of their drainage on the river system. The Patrician sheet extended the passage of the St. Croix, which bounds county and state on the east as it flows south to the Mississippi. A St. Croix tributary, the Kettle River—flowing south through western parts of the county before crossing east in a valley deeply and broadly eroded by Superior ice drainage—draws the unbridged western boundary of the Askov community by slicing off to it a more than two-mile-wide strip of the neighboring rectilinear township of Finlayson. The present inconvenience to Askov voters resident in the strip is considerable: they travel twenty miles by way of the quarry village of Sandstone to visit a polling place just across the river. Another St. Croix tributary, the Snake River, now placidly meandering in a great trench through which the Keewatin ice tongue once deflected the Mississippi, helped to fix the county seat in the extreme south too securely to be dislodged in 1916 by a majority—a constitutionally insufficient majority—vote. Askov (or the township of Partridge) voted for the twelve-mile northerly transfer to Hinckley, 139 to 1; and as suggesting the friendly high spirits of these communities, it may be noted that the citizens' association of the would-be county seat offered to buy its undisclosed sole Askov opponent a new hat.

On the map the converging of the St. Croix and Mississippi rivers draws an inverted pyramid. The lands between them up to a level boundary which would have lain a little north of Askov were ceded by the Ojibway and Dakota Indians and opened to settlement in 1838. This old St. Croix County tract was in 1846 transferred from Wisconsin to Minnesota Territory. Early occupation poured in the other direction, to the south and west, up another Mississippi tributary, the Minnesota. When the early organization of Minnesota counties, beginning in 1848 under the Territorial government, went sweeping through this lower region, it fringed the old St. Croix County lands, along the Mississippi and up the western bank of the St. Croix. Pine County, organized in 1856, one of the later group of these pre-statehood counties, remained in the hinterland of

early occupation, marking the rise toward Duluth. The county's place in the southerly draining river system and its position athwart the line of approach from St. Paul to the head of the Great Lakes assured it railroad penetration. The St. Paul and Duluth Railroad, now included in the Northern Pacific system, threaded the western margin of the county beyond the Kettle River before the arrest of railway construction by the financial depression of 1873. Later the outlet northward to the Great Lakes required for the development of James J. Hill's Great Northern system led to the completion, in 1889, of a second line from Hinckley to Duluth, which cuts northeastward across the upper three fifths of the county. On this line Askov, formerly Partridge, stands, 103 miles distant from St. Paul and fifty-seven miles from Duluth.

THE NEW SETTLEMENT

Ramsey, first Whig Territorial governor, is said to have demurred to a stump and an ax included in a pictorial design for the official Minnesota seal. Ramsey, from Pennsylvania, wished to substitute a tepee, commemorative of the Western Indians. The stump remains in the state seal, the ploughman's rifle and powder horn leaning against it. The stumps of an original forest of white pine and hardwoods were slowly rotting in the shade of young birch and poplar when, in 1906, the extinct lumber camp of Partridge was opened to Danish settlement. Prompt advance toward a farming basis was secured at the start by a compact settlement of small holdings and a corporate spirit encouraged by the active participation of leaders on the spot. Scattered tracts of second growth remain; in the aggregate broad areas have been cleared. From cleared land, hay seeded or wild is cut, and with a deft display of adaptive skill by machine. Plantings of potatoes have averaged four acres in the third year of settlement. The whole span of the twenty years has sounded with the potshots of the stumper. Between 1923 and 1926 half a million pounds of explosive manufactured as munitions for the World War was shipped into Pine County, and of this, 130,000 pounds, more than a quarter, was consigned to Askov. Some breaking of stumped land goes on yearly.

From the land company which had procured the lumbering, the Society or its representatives acquired from time to time

for resale, an aggregate of about fifty-six sections within a tract of sixty-seven sections. After various modifications of the original boundary plan, the colony finally found itself possessed of a funnel-shaped tract about nine miles in length, with a width of ten miles on the west and of three miles at the sparsely settled eastern end.

Sales of land to settlers were made, on contracts running to the company, at \$10 an acre, one fifth down and equal annual instalments of two dollars or less for four or more years. On acquiring title the owners have commonly borrowed by mortgage, in the earlier years from various financial companies, later from the State Farm Credits and, on an interest rate one quarter of one per cent. lower, from the National Land Bank. The Askov National Farm Loan Association, organized in 1917, the forty-ninth in the state, had seventy-three loans in force September 30, 1926, in the amount of \$184,000, and had paid off loans amounting to \$51,200. Early homesteaders from before the days of the colony recall that after the Hinckley fire land could be had at thirty-five cents an acre; and wild land not favorably placed can still be found at low rates. Present national loan boards are able to rate land security at \$30 to \$40 an acre and broken land at \$100, and such values are not appreciably affected by ordinary distances from the centre. The raising of "cash crops" of potatoes and rutabagas, which has continued in advantageous combination with the main industry, dairying, was credited early in November, 1926, with some \$72,000 bank deposits subject to check. The tales of settlers who have made their way, after arriving on the scene with next to no funds, do not lack substance, and are not offset by the laments of the occasional tragedian on being taken by surprise by the difficulties of making a poor living.

Yet the romantic aspect can be overstressed. Here and there the remote settler will make a new wind-tight dwelling out of a log cabin surviving from the lumber régime. One may come upon the builder planking his moulds in solitude for a new concrete-base barn, 38 by 50, beside fields in which he and his wife have made a season's work of blasting 1,100 stumps and crowbarring 100, laying twenty acres open to breaking by a hired tractor, and caring meanwhile for eight cows. But as a whole the colony is, of course, not a community of such demons

for work; and along the level roads where development has reached a later stage one might be passing, though most of the holdings are small,¹ between farms improved to an Iowa prairie type.

The point is put in an unpublished bulletin of the University of Minnesota, based on field study made in 1919, on the "Economic Aspects of Land Utilization in the Cut-Over Land of the Great Lake States." The complete survey covered the condition of 1,803 settlers in three states. On the showing made by fifty-one farms of the Askov area, the group of Danes had the best all-round record made in the cut-over region of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan—a group, it was noted, of considerable farm experience, many of whom had been farmers elsewhere in the country, and quite a number of whom had considerable means. "They [the Danes] became settlers," it was found, "so as to furnish a concentration point in a region where land was cheap for countrymen of theirs less well-to-do but deserving to own farms."

Of 287 households located as comprised in the social community at Askov in the present study made in October and November, 1926, 224 were households of farmers' families; and of these data were obtained for 141, or 63 per cent. The economic bearing of former farming experience was less pertinent to this study than its social effects, and that aspect which presented the experience as an earlier period of adjustment to American conditions. It may be noted that a large proportion of the Danish-born settlers proved to have been engaged in farming or farm work before immigrating, and that changes in occupation were more often to farming than from farming. Among the former occupations in Denmark of Danes farming at Askov had been those of bricklayer, mason, carpenter, shipbuilder, fisherman, sailor, ditch digger, factory worker, rolling-mill hand, clerk, blacksmith, locksmith, mechanic, buttermaker, maker of wooden shoes, and tailor.

For a just understanding of the character of the Askov community the element of previous American experience remains important, though of itself not in the least obscure. Any im-

¹Of 139 farms studied, the smallest was of 7 acres and the largest of 400 acres. The most frequent sizes were 40 acres (26 farms) and 80 acres (63 farms). Only 5 farms were of less than 40 acres and only 28 of more than 100 acres.

164 IMMIGRANT FARMERS AND THEIR CHILDREN

pression that these Danes arrived from Ellis Island tagged at the buttonhole for Askov vanishes at a glance into the records of the accession of settlers given in the two tabulations that follow.

IMMIGRANT DATES OF 30 SETTLING AT ASKOV BEFORE 1910

<i>Arrivals in America</i>		<i>Arrivals at Askov</i>	
1879	3	1891	1
1880-1889	10	1895	1
1890-1892	10	1901	1
1901-1904	7	1905	2
	<hr/>	1906	8
	30	1907	7
		1908	7
		1909	3
			<hr/>
			30

IMMIGRANT DATES OF 104 SETTLING AT ASKOV AFTER 1909

<i>Arrivals in America</i>		<i>Arrivals at Askov</i>	
1870	1		
1874	1		
1880-1889	18		
1890-1899	20		
1900-1909	45		
1910-1915	16		53
1916-1920	1		39
1921-1926	2		12
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	104		104

Of the 134 arrivals included in these two tabulations, three preceded the opening of the Danish colony. Of twenty-seven Danish settlers gathering at Askov in the formative years 1905 to 1909, only seven had immigrated to this country later than 1900, while of 104 settlers reaching Askov in the years 1910 to 1926, only nineteen arrived as immigrants in the same period.

Of the seven in the first group who immigrated in the years 1901 to 1904, one came to Askov after two years of previous American experience, one after three years, four after four years, and one after seven years.

THE COLONISTS

The immigrant of 1870, in the second group, an Iowa farmer, had passed a span of fifty-one years in America before establishing himself at Askov in 1921. Of the 134 settlers in the two groups, nine who had the briefest span of American experience comprised two who had had three years, four two years, and

three one year. Only three of the 134 had come direct to Askov; one in 1923, one in 1919, and one in 1912, and this last settler had, in 1888-1896, had eight or nine years previous experience, so that he is included only to be excluded in pointing the moral, which is further emphasized by the following tabulation showing the previous American experience of 130 Askov settlers.

<i>Years</i>	<i>Settlers</i>
36 to 40	3
31 " 35	5
26 " 30	11
21 " 25	22
16 " 20	20
11 " 15	27
6 " 10	21
1 " 5	21

The area in which this previous American experience was accumulated was ascertained for 125 of these 130 settlers, and it is interesting to note that all but ten of them gave states of the Middle West and Northwest as their points of first settlement.

In default of a complete census, these figures may fairly be regarded as representative. The story they tell, though already indicated in previous study, has not escaped a clouding in the impressionist appreciation which the interesting situation at Askov has attracted. The colonizing policy has apparently been deliberate—a policy of furthering the culture of Danish thought and custom by bringing to its transplanted service a concentration of experience both of farming in American conditions and of social participation in the American community.

CITIZENSHIP

As an index to an interest in citizenship, nothing could excel the rate of naturalization, except that there are probably no other personal facts which the well-affected citizen so quickly learns to disdain to remember. Of 110 Askov residents in 1926, not one of whom but held himself an American, fifteen were not naturalized; and of these eight had taken out first papers. The derived percentages may be interesting. Promptly upon the close of the statutory five-year interval, 18 per cent. became citizens; and, year by year to the tenth, the group expanded successively to 33, 46, 51, 61, and 69 per cent.

THE INCORPORATED VILLAGE

In 1918, the colony's thirteenth year, Askov became an incorporated village, its limits describing a rectangle with boundaries one half mile distant from the centre on the east, south, and west, and three quarters of a mile on the north. The new status seems to have been regarded as a desired goal by the community at large and a pledge of its growing importance. Askov's cliques, its vaguely marked divisive groups of personal following, do not appear to make themselves seriously felt in corporate behavior, or to draw up for battle on any discerned line between town and country. The proposal to incorporate did in fact give issue to sharp discussion; but the opposition arose within the village itself, and the possible sundering of community feeling was urged as an objection.

At the time of incorporation, the village centre which the visitor now sees on stepping off the train had already taken much of its present shape. On a slight rise of ground the business cluster, its ranked fronts rather more in the mass than is usual in similar communities of the region, abuts on the station at an angle determined by the northeasterly direction of the bee-line railroad right-of-way intersecting the compass-pointed, gridiron section lines to which the street and road plan rigidly adheres. Main Street discloses itself on approach as a plaza one hundred feet broad, across which for a present length of not more than 500 feet eight buildings, mainly of one-story stature, face eleven other buildings. An old town hall and a blacksmith shop date back from 1910 or earlier, with three or four stores, one of which affects old-time merchandising methods, and with them a file of hitching posts at the curb. Here is the brick bank building, twenty-five feet by thirty-nine in plan, but long in banking hours, and the busy third-class post-office, receiving in the well-equipped 1926 plant of the weekly newspaper twenty sacks of mail daily—with a bank president who has sat in the legislature, and an editor who in November, 1926, failed of election to a seat there by only forty-six votes out of 4,890 cast in the county. The baker, also in a new building, is a master of Danish pastry, and turns out 100 to 250 loaves nightly. No bread is shipped into Askov from outside. The commodious and thriving garage is as busy as the shop of the blacksmith, one of the earliest settlers, used to be; and the hardware dealer comes to

the relief of the housewife by selling an average of twenty-five washing machines a year.

If before exploring Main Street the visitor has seen his train pull out, it will have unscreened to his view, along extensions of industrial track, the ranged warehouses and custom mills of the Askov Coöperative Association and of two competing individual dealers in produce, the Live Stock Shippers' loading pen, and the long shed of one of two local lumber yards. The huddle of frame storage buildings stands apart sufficiently to leave the view on this farther side of the railway to a scattering half-dozen unpretentious dwellings, of bungalow and cottage types, which stand widely dotted about among trim clumps of birch and plantings of evergreen, with as many more indicated in line where a spired church shoulders a street corner.

The open-country settlement focussed on this railroad point has for a long axis of development a northerly thoroughfare, which at the station lies beyond Main Street, its short parallel. An east-and-west thoroughfare crosses it below the station and carries traffic west to a similar inverted T of good roads on the south. The village plan relies at the track intersections on right-angled grade crossings, and this has resulted in cutting the village centre in two. The approach to the station in the east half runs from the church, built in 1915, which, however, is set just out of the vista. In the west half the approach runs from the consolidated school building (1916), with the large hall of the Danish Brotherhood (1920) flanking it. But owing to the fact that the east and west approaches are thrown out of line by the railway crossing, these embodiments of the community's social life are not visually related. The placing of the attractively designed new creamery (1920), housing the community's foremost industry, is still more desultory.

Foresight and public spirit have reserved a well-planted park, with an open-air moving-picture theatre set in a grove of young birch. The park is in use for festal games, summer entertainments, and such celebrations as the American independence and Danish emancipation days. But the park is an allotment of building plots fronting on two streets and wedged between residence properties on either side. Few observers would venture to say that the town planning of Askov was un-American.

LOCAL ENTERPRISE

Without adequate fire apparatus within convenient call, Askov has passed buckets at five serious fires in ten years. The sawmill was destroyed in 1916, the building of the Coöperative Association in 1919, the creamery in 1920, the hotel of the old Partridge days in 1924, and the railroad station in 1926. The sawmill and the hotel were not rebuilt. The new creamery was open for business on the site of the old in less than eight weeks.

The April (1926) fire, which burned all the local railroad records with the old station, somewhat hampers the drawing of the picture of Askov as a shipping point. The volume of business shown by the Askov railroad records for the six months, May to October, 1926, is given in the accompanying tabulation.

	<i>May</i>	<i>June</i>	<i>July</i>	<i>Aug.</i>	<i>Sept.</i>	<i>Oct.</i>	<i>Total</i>
Cars In.	27	10	12	20	19	21	109
Cars Out.	7	6	4	26	87	113	243
Creamery Butter (Tubs) . .	664	658	568	414	306	293	2903
Cream (Non-Coöp.) (5-gallon cans)	129	130	125	114	106	53	657
Express Shipments.	421	250	248	260	269	254	1702
Telegrams Received.	44	39	31	86	226	171	597
Telegrams Sent.	49	53	40	68	177	205	592

Of the cars out during October, 1926, sixty-six were shipments of potatoes and forty of rutabagas. To the Chicago market went twenty-eight cars of potatoes and nine of rutabagas; to Minneapolis, twenty-three and eighteen. The rutabagas were finding a special market in the South, with shipments to points in Texas, Georgia, and Alabama. Practically all the produce was consigned by non-coöperative dealers. In butter shipments, the seasonal curve for the full year may be completed by the following creamery records of tubs shipped in pooled cars for the six months, November, 1925, to April, 1926: 429, 466, 505, 507, 671, 627, a total of 3,205. This is the staple coöperative product. The shipments of cream represent a small non-coöperative outlet. The express shipments going out were mainly poultry and nursery stock. Telegrams include all messages, but the volume had to do with produce price quotations.

Checks passing back through the bank from mail-order houses represented a business of between \$300 and \$400 a day.

Bank statements showed an 80 per cent. advance in transactions in the nine years from 1917 to 1926:

	1917	1926
Loans and Discounts.....	\$97,917.27	\$179,143.91
Deposits Subject to Check.....	55,668.61	100,228.22
Savings Deposits.....		13,144.48

The bank enjoys the reputation of having fostered the business enterprise of the farming community, without taking any direct part in underwriting the investment in lands. Its conservatism has not failed to earn it a wiggling for its scrutiny of the purpose of loans when a delayed furore for motor cars first took hold. Askov, which found uses for three or four yoke of oxen, saw its first cars in 1911. Three cars were sold in 1914. In 1915 one farmer's practice of making his creamery deliveries in his car was a published item of news. In 1926 the number of cars sold in the year had reached the figure fifty-three. Nine tractors are in use. The telephone, a metallic return system with upward of 1,000 feet of cable in the village, and listing in October, 1926, 226 subscribers in all, had not been financially successful and was being reorganized. The mercantile service of the village to the community was generally regarded as adequate, unless in the item of clothing, and the businesses were being supported with considerable pride. The trading zone trenched on other trading zones north and south. The weekly newspaper, with a subscription list of 272 in the community, had a circulation of 2,150 throughout the county, and its job printing plant was drawing patronage from the Twin Cities, Iowa, Wisconsin, and beyond.

The resident physician, who died in November, 1926, was also prominent for his interest in civic affairs and for his amateur study of Danish music and song. Except in medicine and the work of school and church, the village does not discharge the function of professional service station for the community. In 1922, by a vote of eighty-six to thirteen, the township rejected (as did the county, 2,647 to 759) a proposal for a visiting nurse. At the time it even voted down, sixty-eight to thirty-four (as did the county, 2,450 to 678), a proposal for a county agent; yet it supplies the county Farm Bureau, organized in 1918, with its president, and the bureau has helped to make the duly obtained county agent's work popular and effective. In

1925 the bureau was successful in inducing the Farm Management Division of the University of Minnesota to establish at Askov one of its three-year farm-accounts routes. In the first year records were obtained and published from a route comprising twenty-nine farms. In the matter of local enterprise, the other side of the ledger must be charged with the recent lapsing of the Askov annual fair.

SOCIAL LIFE

The village serves as an active centre for a social life expressed mainly in organized meetings. The calendar is a network of periodic assemblies. Independently of the centre, there is a brisk intercourse between households. Of 126 persons who estimated the frequency of their visiting friends and neighbors, forty-eight put the rate at about once a week, thirty-four twice a week, nine three times a week, two four times, one five times, four seven times, one fourteen times. Twelve less active visitors ranged from thirty-six to six times a year. The neighborly habit of intercourse is so sustained that it cancels out in behalf of an open hospitality much of the formality of invitation. An inveterate neighborly habit is the celebration of birthdays; and it would appear that the neighboring families of a group often do not need or expect reminders of the anniversary dates. There are a few subordinate neighborhood groups making use of outlying district schoolhouses for meeting-places, and a North Star Club, numbering twenty-five, with a small building of its own. But one or another of public meetings, dances, moving-picture shows, or other entertainments bring to the village some members of most households for at least one or two evenings in the month. The village and country membership of social organizations in 1926 was as follows:

	<i>Village</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Total</i>
Danish Peoples Society.....	22	5	27
Danish Young Peoples Society.....	26	52	78
Danish Brotherhood Society.....	27	79	106
I. O. O. F.....	15	31	46
Athletic Association.....	19	32	51
American Legion.....	9	21	30
TOTAL.....	118	220	338

The stated monthly meetings of the creamery association, with its inclusive farmer membership, are noted for a social

character. There are groups to whom organization is less important, like the Married People's Dances, stirred by their own cheerful enthusiasm to a revival of Danish folk dances in costume. There are groups perhaps less fashionable and perhaps more sedate, to whom nothing is so important as a score—such a select body as The Cribbage Players, weekly in conclave in a basement restaurant. Askov's ample parking spaces often show their flocks of cars at leisure; for the village is neither unvisited nor fled from of an evening.

Audiences ranging from 400 to 525 were drawn out by the four-day and eight-day programmes of a Home Talent Chautauqua held in July, 1924, and August, 1925, a successful experiment in replacing the university extension lyceums formerly procured in alternate years. The Askov Band and Orchestra supplied music on both occasions; and in 1925 furnished accompaniment for the vocal programme of the Grasston Singers, visitors from another community to the South. Vaudeville, minstrels, a children's pantomime, and two plays ("Little Women" and "Daddy Longlegs") convinced Askov that it had its actors, and in 1925 an address by the governor of the state added an overtone of public importance.

The baseball team, one of the six clubs in the county league, won eleven straight games in the 1926 season. The basket-ball team won a fair rating in games with nine other county teams and took part in a district tournament. Besides maintaining these activities, the Athletic Association held half a dozen wrestling matches in the course of the year.

DANISH PREDOMINANCE

The predominantly Danish descent shown by this community, actively developing in its economic growth and alertly adjusted to its American social environment, is apparent from an examination of householders. The population credited to the township in the Federal Census of 1920 was 914, comprising 242 persons in the village and 672 outside. Estimates of increase since 1920 range from 25 to 34 per cent. and more, resulting in totals of from 1,143 to 1,410 or more, representing at an average about 240 families. Answers obtained from 165 householders showed 149 of them Danish in descent and sixteen non-Danish. Of the Danish 149, the foreign-born Danes numbered 124, the

native-born of Danish parents twenty-five, both parents being Danish in the case of twenty-three. In the 165, the native-born of native-born parents numbered five. For a period running back twenty-six years, the township and village records of vital statistics show sixty-one deaths of native-born occurring within the township limits and forty-two of foreign-born, thirty-nine of the latter being Danes. The births show 195 of foreign-born parents, ninety-four of mixed parentage, and eighty-four of native-born parents.

Similar results are obtained from an analysis of the membership of seven organizations. Out of a total membership of 635, 583 were found to be Danes. Of the 328 members of the two trade organizations, the Creamery and the Coöperative Association, only thirty-seven were not of Danish blood; some of the societies were exclusively Danish in membership, and even the American Legion had twenty-four Danish members as against six non-Danish. Officials of the various organizations, as well as the elected officials of the village and township, were also predominantly Danes. The one elected official not of Danish descent, the township treasurer, was a German Roman Catholic, a settler from before the days of the colony. Another pre-colony settler whom the predominant Danes have delighted to honor was a Swedish Lutheran, who in 1926 was serving as County Commissioner. For many years the Mutual Fire Insurance Company, a Danish organization, has retained the German as its president and the Swede as its treasurer.

For 137 families, the birthplace of wife or husband was ascertained. Of these, 70 per cent. were foreign-born, and nine tenths of the foreign-born were Danes. The number of living children in 142 families was 558, an average of 3.9 to a family. There were 77 families with three living children or fewer, forty-one with four to six, twenty-four with seven to thirteen. Only nine families were childless.

THE LANGUAGE QUESTION

As has already been indicated, the speaking of Danish is at Askov more than a matter of adult convenience in a group of immigrant origin. Part of the colony's cultural programme is to prolong the life of the mother tongue in the English-speaking environment. This purpose is served in the foreign-language

church, in curriculum instruction in the school, and more particularly by family custom. "As soon as the doors close we talk Dane." This was the household rule announced by one of the heads of families from whom information was obtained about the use of the mother tongue at home. The situation more frequently reported showed that the children addressed their conscientiously or habitually Danish-speaking parents in Danish; but in talk among themselves or with other children were bilingual, with a tendency toward making English the workaday language of the younger generation. Some carefully observed distinctions were reported. One head of a family, whose children respected his rule to use within the household Danish exclusively among themselves, had noticed that outside the home they inclined to speak English in any event, and that within the household any conversation with children of other families was held in English, even though the visitors might be known to use Danish among themselves in their own homes. The inquiry found that the proportion of children accustomed to conversing in Danish with parents was about 80 per cent. and with other children about 40 per cent.

In protection of the mother tongue, the foreign-language church acts normally as a conserving force. Scripture and liturgy, prayer, song, and sermon—the expatriated church group can surrender these things to translation only with a painful feeling of strangeness and exile. At Askov they gave up an experiment of alternative service in English because the attendance was drawn from a small body of conscientious churchgoers who attended also the preferred Danish services of the same day. Recently Askov released its pastor of almost a decade, the Rev. S. D. Rodholm, to the presidency of Grand View College, Des Moines. He had been president of the denomination, too, the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. In his place they called a younger man from the state of Washington, not long out of Denmark. In 1926 the new incumbent was in despair about learning to speak the language which, at Askov, without thought of the Lutheran-raised Mr. Mencken, they incline to name American. From one day to the next (each day begun and closed by tolling the church bell in the Copenhagen manner because the old people liked it), he had little or no opportunity acceptably to attempt any but a Danish greeting.

THE VILLAGE CHURCH

The next village to the north of Askov, Bruno, with a population of 300, has four churches. Sandstone, next on the south, with a population of 1,200, has five church buildings and seven denominations hold services. Askov contents itself with one church as naturally as any small town in mediæval Europe may have done, though with a conscious feeling of distinction. In result the Askov church prospers and the weekly congregation averages 250 out of a resident membership, as reported by the secretary in 1926, of 616, which is the full seating capacity (600) of the building dedicated in July, 1915. Of 104 persons asked to estimate the number of times they attended church in the course of the year, twenty-three made no bones about setting the figure at fifty-two. In a calendar running beyond Sundays only at Christmas and Easter, this leaves small margin for absences. Of these 104 churchgoers, sixty-two set the figure at twenty-six times or more a year.

The age- and sex-distribution of the church membership, village and country, for 1926, was as follows:

	MALES				FEMALES				
	13-21	21-45	46+	Total	13-21	21-44	45+	Total	Total
Village.	21	21	33	75	42	25	32	99	174
Country.	101	57	61	219	123	49	51	223	442
Total.	122	78	94	294	165	74	83	322	616

The budget of the church for 1925 was \$5,668. Pledged subscriptions from 198 members yielded \$3,343. The church was one of six contributing \$450 or more to the general fund of the denomination in May, 1926. The minister's salary was \$1,800. The nine-room brick parsonage was built in 1921 at a cost of \$12,000. The brick church was built at the same cost in the lower market conditions of 1915, its design carrying no suggestion of Danish forms. The existing debt is \$9,181. The church discharges the charity and relief work of the village and township (except for one or two mothers' pensions), and maintains a volunteer nursing service.

The ministry as a whole is dedicated to "all the people of Askov." It does not appear to be beset with active impulse to propaganda; and, though notably free from sectarian exclusiveness, it attempts no undenominational social-service programme. Outside the pulpit, no official pressure is brought

to bear in behalf of church attendance. Those within the fold who hold aloof to commune with nature or tune in on larger centres of worship by radio are not annoyed in their choice. The occasional Swede, domiciled at a distance from his own church, is made at home. This is the church of a community almost unmixed in its denominational character. It is not a community church in the special sense of the term.

Yet, though even to mention the fact seems to verge on exaggeration, there are a scattered few among the members of this church community that look a little down their noses at the church they attend. They are members of a different body of the same Protestant descent, another American group of Danish Evangelical Lutherans, called "United" in token of the bringing together in 1895 of two earlier organizations. The members of the United church now number about 21,000 all told, as compared with the 17,000 of the Askov denomination proper. In the tinge of its convictions the United church appears to be Fundamentalist, and Puritan or Methodist in the tone of its discipline. There are persons holding conspicuous positions in the Askov community who, without betraying any sentiment about it, will confess themselves formerly United in their allegiance. There are other faithful churchgoers who intimate privately that they cannot think very highly of a church that sponsors dancing, and lets the Danish fondness for card games go unrebuked, and entertains notably liberal views on points of doctrine and interpretation. But the particularist attitude here retains faintly if at all any separatist impulse.

The Sunday-school meets in the consolidated school building fortnightly, except during the two stormy winter months of January and February, when it is suspended. In 1925 it enrolled 182 members in seven classes, with an attendance averaging ninety-five (highest 134, lowest 50). Graded lessons are not supplied to the pupils in printed form: the staff, five women and two men teachers, confer in fortnightly session with the pastor, who discourses to them in detail on the mode of presentation to the several classes of the assigned portions of Scripture.

Parochial instruction of schoolchildren in preparation for confirmation at the age of thirteen is given in a two-year course held within the school season, October 1 to May 1. Three hours once a week are allotted to these classes. In the heavy winter

season, January 1 to March 15, the church further provides young people and those going on to folk high schools, with instruction in the Bible and in Danish literature in a class which meets in a five-hour session (including recess) four days a week. The average attendance is about twenty, the minimum ten.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL

A Danish emphasis in instruction also graces with a statutory flourish the curriculum of the public school. The programme of grades and high-school classes includes daily periods under a special instructor in the language, literature, and history of Denmark.

The enrolment in the Askov consolidated school in 1926 is shown in the accompanying tabulation.

	Boys		Girls		Total
	<i>Village</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Country</i>	
Elementary Grades 1-6.	13	77	14	67	171
Grammar Grades 7-8.	1	24	6	26	57
Total Grades.	14	101	20	93	228
High School (1).	0	2	3	14	19
(2).	0	1	1	3	5
(3).	0	1	1	0	2
(4).	1	5	0	2	8
Total H. S.	1	9	5	19	34

The records of former high-school students illustrate the drift from home of the studious youth of a small community. Of the forty-three living graduates and students 1921-1926 (one graduate had died), thirty-two had gone away—sixteen as students (ten boys, six girls), four as teachers (two boys, two girls), nine to work (four boys, five girls), and three by marriage (three girls). All the forty-four were native-born or foreign-born parents, Danish descent, of course, predominating.

The school employed no physician or nurse and had discontinued the experiment of serving lunches. The pupils were transported in a fleet of eight trucks, which was about to be increased to ten. Playgrounds comprised five basket-ball courts used by fifty girls in two groups. Volley-ball was played by thirty girls in two groups, soccer by twenty-five boys in two groups. There were no school athletic teams. A Boy Scout troop, which visited camp sites along the river in summer, was regis-

tered with the school. There were small extension clubs in sewing, bread-making, canning, and calf-raising. No student publications were issued, but the weekly newspaper opened its columns to act as a school magazine at the ends of terms and was regularly carrying full school news furnished by the superintendent. That executive, head also of the Sunday-school and familiarly known as "our Professor," took a more active part in the leadership of adult public opinion than would commonly devolve upon him by American custom.

As a social centre, the school drew large attendances to an annual debate and a Christmas entertainment. The conduct of parent-teacher meetings showed an active interest in school affairs, and their programmes promoted discussion of liberal-minded addresses on questions of social ethics and of morals. Entertainments known locally as "the school movies" assembled large audiences in the Danish Brotherhood hall. The films as received for exhibition were first passed in review by committee. When it happened that the censors, made unhappy by the quality of the supplied film, still found themselves unready to suppress it, they resorted to giving a corrective slant to its published announcement. In October, 1926, a reckless frontier hero portrayed by a popular star was candidly advertised as "characterless."

THE FOLK HIGH SCHOOL

There is a strong sentiment at Askov in support of the famous Danish practice of inspirational adult education effected in the folk high schools. Of 106 men and women who had attended one session or more of these schools, thirty had had that schooling in Denmark, at Askov, at Frederiksborg, and at other schools in Jutland, Zealand, and Iceland. Of seventy-six whose folk high-school experience had been had in eleven schools in this country, twenty-nine attended the school at Tyler, Minn.; fifteen that of Grand View College, Des Moines, Ia.; thirteen that at Nysted, Neb.

The folk high school encounters at Askov little of the dissent to its merit reported in some levels of urban opinion in Denmark. One Askov adult who had not attended such a school did, expressly, "not believe in it." Though there was some trace of a moderate adherence among young people, it hardly went

beyond an independence of attitude characteristic of the training itself; and on the whole the virtues of folk high-school training not yet experienced were generally accepted and constituted almost an article of faith. Well abreast of the discussion which the Danish idea has been undergoing in this country, its aggressive champions held the opinion that it was destined to have its effect on the whole American system of public education. This pious wish was, of course, entertained vaguely; the feature of full state control and the principle of standardization were acknowledged to be awkwardly misfit in the Danish plan.

COÖPERATIVE ORGANIZATIONS

The influence of the training received in the folk high schools of Denmark is often offered to explain the aptness of the Danish farmer for agricultural coöperation. The first source of the co-operatives at Askov rests probably in a farmers' club (*Landboforeningen*) organized in 1907. It was at one of its early meetings that the name Askov was chosen. Perhaps the next group banded was the local fire insurance company, a mutual organization without other coöperative features. Organized in 1908 with a membership of forty-one, it had in force, at the close of 1925, 1,067 policies in the sum of \$2,960,681, and was showing a yearly gain of \$40,000 in business throughout the county. Another early organization was a live-stock breeders' association. Its present successor, formed in 1918, incorporated in 1926, and federated in a state association, maintains a loading pen and scales, employs a manager, and without as yet showing profits to divide serves a membership of seventy-five resident in Askov and neighboring towns. An early horse-breeders' association was short-lived. Egg coöperatives have not thrived. A recent district egg coöperative embracing a considerable part of the county signed up, in 1923, some seventy Askov members for five years, of whom, in 1926, about one half the number had been able to evade the obligations of membership under the attraction of better non-coöperative markets.

The Askov creamery, organized in 1911, is a thorough-paced coöperative. In October, 1926, the secretary reported 205 members (leaving less than 8 per cent. of the producers outside the organization). The butter made at Askov, in 1925 395,592 pounds (except 8.2 per cent. sold to patrons and locally), was

shipped to the centralizing station and pooled in grades for the market. The patrons are paid net returns prorated to the butter fat supplied by them. The local creamery is controlled by its members through a board of directors and is itself one of forty member-creameries of one of the fifteen district associations making up the state association (organized in 1921), both district and state associations being similarly controlled. All the technical work, from local butter-making to world-marketing through offices in St. Paul, Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York, is in the hands of salaried experts.

The principle of coöperation might be said to be the background of public opinion in the farming community at Askov. The history of the movement in Denmark is studied and temperately understood, and considerable pride is taken in that European achievement. The readiness actually to resort to coöperation comes freely into play in self-serving affairs. Book rings are popular, meat rings are a boast. Readers of more than common assiduity here don't delight in filling their own bookshelves so much as in a systematic mode of social entertainment carried on by lending new books. Valiant trenchermen in groups provide their tables by supplying beef on the hoof at stated intervals and sharing in the carcass by assigned cuts.

In the state, the association of coöperative creameries, though it controls the greater part of the butter produced, does not lack vigorous competition from non-coöperative corporations. And alert merchants, prospering at Askov, have been said to threaten privately to demonstrate a superior soundness in competitive trade principles by putting the local coöperative creamery out of business. The fact, of course, remains that during the tenfold growth in fifteen years of the coöperative creamery's output (from an initial six-months production in 1911 of 24,900 pounds to a six-months production in 1926 of 249,996 pounds), no serious non-coöperative competition has been ventured upon. Against this is to be balanced the fact that no other coöperative at Askov has been comparably successful, and that no pressure toward definitely coöperative procedure seems to be felt by local mercantile enterprise engaged in the community's service.

The Askov Coöperative Association, reorganized and incorporated in 1913, and listing, in 1926, 126 members, is a

consumers' coöperative. It sells dairy and poultry feeds, flour, coal, and salt, seed grain, and grass seed. It purchases 2 per cent. of its merchandise from consumers, for whom it maintains a small custom-milling service, and for the bulk of its supplies patronizes the large mills of St. Paul, Duluth, and North Dakota. Refund dividends are paid annually to shareholders in proportion to the amounts of their purchases made through the association. On a sliding scale of purchases, members are charged with minimum holdings of shares in value from \$30 to \$100. The plan, although leaving the shareholders still in a preferred position as to net cost of purchases, seems measurably unpopular. Sales made to non-members amount to more than two thirds of the sales made to members. The total sales for 1924, for example, were \$49,903.93, of which sales to members were \$29,240.10 (with a refund dividend of \$1,023.27), and sales to non-members, \$20,663.83. In default of exclusive trading requirements, the association must, in short, content itself with making a virtue of its actual but moderate rebate, while it meets such criticism of its service as its not too vigorous market operations may incur.

The competition which is at least in some part responsible for the restriction of the success of this township consumers' coöperative has its probable relation to recent fiascoes in coöperative marketing of the state potato crop. The Minnesota Potato Exchange, a federated organization of locals, acting as an assembling agency, handled unsatisfactorily a total of 13.5 per cent. of the carlot shipments of three crops, 1920-1923, and issued in bankruptcy. Its successor, the Minnesota Potato Growers' Exchange, a highly centralized organization, marketed only one crop, 1924-1925, but shipped 31 per cent. Their whole complicated history has now been examined to estimate its results.²

At Askov the local non-coöperative dealers in potatoes and rutabagas—crops estimated as yielding a fourth part of farm income—invade the market of the consumers' coöperative partly to secure the custom, partly to attach their crop supply, which until 1924 was also handled either directly or through the exchanges by a local coöperative produce association

²Longley, Willard Victor, *Plan of Organization for Marketing Minnesota Potatoes Coöperatively* (Univ. of Minn., 1926).

organized in 1917. The fortunes of the two exchanges made themselves intensely felt at Askov, which was the residence of the first federation's organizer and president. This militant coöperator began the issue of the Exchange paper in 1919 as a circular letter mailed from Askov. He remains one of the most vivid, respected, and provocative personalities among the community's small group of leaders.

The ideal leader, the historic hero venerated to the verge of myth, the Lincoln, the Father Abraham, is Bishop Grundtvig. At Askov, the number of his portraits may never grow less. Of course our Danish citizens brought Lincoln to Askov with them, and all our pantheon of worthies. If the Grundtvig portrait is the indispensable one, this expresses no more conflict in the choice of the object of homage than would, on other walls, the portrait of Wesley. Like the statesman, Grundtvig crystallized national purpose; like the evangelist he gave his people songs. He joined the two benefits in one service, making song an expedient for reviving popular initiative; and his hymnbook reforms swelled the body of Lutheran chorals with the lyrics of national poets. Melody—tender, rousing, quickening, vigorous, or gravely deliberate—sounds to-day not only in the congregation and in meetings of a more or less churchly cast, but on almost any occasion which may have drawn together enough of a group to lend ready voices a chance of gusty unison. The account of the community at Askov which has here been attempted, with its coöperatives, its schools, its parent-teacher sessions, its birthday parties, its stated monthly meetings of this society or that, would more aptly characterize its original if for the reader's ear the very tables of statistics would grow vocal with the lyrics of Grundtvig, Ingemann, Ewald, Öhlenschläger, in the strains of thirteen hundred tunes.

The Askov Dane seems to be one of those fortunate persons that succeed in harmonizing their inconsistencies in a comfortable equilibrium. He is tolerant of other faiths and nationalities, but frankly warns newcomers that Danish-speaking Lutherans are likeliest to be happy as his neighbors. He distrusts the formalities of organization and, when he thinks it important to do so, demonstrates the capacities of organized effort. He is supercilious about statistics and a most faithful statistician of his own records. He makes a cult of gymnastic exercise and is

no great zealot at group games of bodily skill. He believes only in the living word and finds it in the almost mythological past. He is both industrious in his work and easy-going, liberal in his views and tenacious of preferences, modest in assertion and complacent in admissions, enterprisingly skeptical and sentimentally practical. But being, above all things else, accessible to the kindly and unaffected promptings of comradeship, he will break into song, his own cherished songs, at the drop of a hat.

PETERSBURG

A Study of a Colony of Czecho-Slovakian Farmers in Virginia

BY NELS ANDERSON

The country about Petersburg, Virginia, is a conservative region steeped in pride and tradition. Since the first English settlement there had been no invasions of any consequence from the Old World until the Czechs and Slovaks appeared in the late '80's and '90's. The Virginians, who had been in possession for three centuries, were overwhelmed by the advent of a people of such strange manners and attire. They mistook the newcomers for gypsies and called them "Bohemians," the name by which they are still known. The Czecho-Slovaks came seeking homes; but, being foreign and coming by way of the North, they were received with cynical indifference.

The first of them came by chance, the rest by the various devices of communication common to immigrants in this country. A few came directly from Europe; some of the others after sad experiences on farms in Kansas and Nebraska where, because of the weather, the stubborn soil, and the grasshopper plagues, they had failed. Still others had first gone to the industrial centres where they had fallen victims to low wages, long hours, labor wars, squalid living conditions, and the bread line. They had been driven from Europe by land hunger, the same hunger that had driven them first from their own homes into Russia, Poland, and Germany. Their wants were simple and few. All they asked was soil to till, of which Virginia had plenty.

Except for the real estate agents, none gave them welcome. They came with little money and without credit. The land they bought was the poorest on the market and had to be cleared of second growth or redeemed from infertility. They had no knowledge of local farming; and frequently when they turned to the natives for advice they were made the butt of practical jokes.

To-day these same foreigners are counted, even by the Virginians, among the best farmers in the region. They are trusted where the natives often want for credit. Their farms are conspicuously attractive and fertile. All about them is farm tenancy, and most of the old Virginian families have been dispossessed of their once famous estates; yet 90 per cent. of the farms of the Czecho-Slovaks are conceded to be free from debt. In their methods of farming, they have outstripped the natives. In their home life and community life, they are settled and happy. They have won economic status; but socially they are still outside the favored circles. They are "foreigners," even to the third generation.

This study deals with the establishment of the Czecho-Slovaks on the soil, and their rise to economic success despite their long-continued social isolation; and it attempts to trace the processes responsible for the present situation in which these people find themselves.

The Czecho-Slovaks came to a section that had suffered severely in the Civil War. They found the population in financial straits, still wrestling with the futile problem of reestablishing the ancient order—the "gentleman-managed" plantation type of agriculture supported by slave labor. It could not be done with transient labor and a wage system. The old estates had been wasted and misused; the land had been impoverished by renting, or had been sold bit by bit, or had been stripped of its timber. Virginian farmers were at the end of their resources. Land was selling for as low as five dollars an acre and renting for the cost of taxes.

The success of the Czecho-Slovaks would not be so conspicuous were it not for the contrasts involved. It was a period of transition in agriculture from a plantation system in which the proprietor exploits the labor of others to a farming economy in which the proprietor exploits his own labor and that of his family. The Virginians had really lost touch with the soil. There was need of new vision, a new domestic economy, and a different philosophy of labor. These were part of the equipment of the Bohemians. They came, not merely to sow and reap, but to invest in the soil. The simple life they were prepared to live was essential to success in the agricultural situation to which they came.

THE PETERSBURG AREA

Petersburg had a population, in 1920, of 31,012. It is situated twenty miles below Richmond on the Appomattox River, eight miles above the James River. It is eighty miles west of Norfolk on the Norfolk and Western Railroad, and 140 miles south of Washington on the Seaboard Air Line and the Atlantic Coast Line. Before the advent of the railroad, it was an inland port rivalling Richmond. A number of highways intersect here, making it the chief market town for twenty miles to the east, the south, and the west.

The region is low and flat with an occasional rolling section; and is intersected, east and west, by a number of slow-moving streams which flow through large tracts of fertile but undeveloped swamp land. The upland soil, nowhere more than 100 feet above sea level, is a sandy, gravelly loam with here and there a patch of clay. The soil does not retain fertility, and fails quickly under heavy cropping. The region is naturally timber-producing, and once neglected it soon springs up to trees. On the uplands are oak, walnut, hickory, pine, cedar; the swamps and bottoms are thickly wooded with tulip, maple, elm, sycamore, and cypress. Most of the good timber has long since been logged off; but there are large tracts of second-growth soon ready for logs or cord wood.

This part of Virginia has a mild and even climate, with the temperature seldom rising above 90° or dropping below 32°. The crop season averages 220 days a year. The rainfall averages 46 inches, distributed evenly through the year. There is little snow and rarely ice enough for skating. In fact, the Bohemians found Virginia so genial and so much to their liking that, for all their hardships, they did not consider their lot a hard one.

Petersburg is situated at the intersection of three counties: Prince George on the east, Dinwiddie on the south and west, and Chesterfield on the north. In 1920, the population of Prince George was 14,312 (including 1,397 in the city of Hopewell); of Dinwiddie, 17,949; and of Chesterfield, 20,496. The trading area of Petersburg has an approximate population of 100,000; but this includes the three counties and adjacent territory. The rural population of the three counties was 51,360; 27,044 native white, 1,272 foreign-born, and 23,035 Negroes.

For practical purposes the 1920 Federal Census is of little

use in this study because of changes that have been made in Prince George County in which most of the Czecho-Slovaks live. Since 1920, the industrial city of Hopewell has taken into its limits a large industrial population which formerly included the workers in a DuPont munition plant. The population of Hopewell has increased by immigration and annexation to about 12,000 persons. The number in Prince George County has dropped to 8,000 or 10,000. The situation is further complicated by reason of the fact that many of the people designated "foreign-born" in the 1920 Census were not the rural inhabitants but the workers in the munition plant.

The Census can serve us very inadequately because many of the persons who are called in the Petersburg area "Bohemians" are in the Census termed native-born of foreign, mixed, or native parents. Sociologically we have to recognize anyone as a "Bohemian" who is called one, or who identifies himself with the group of foreigners so called. A safe hazard, based on the estimates of a number of Virginian and "Bohemian" leaders, would place the number in the three counties at 3,500, with some such division as: Prince George, 1,800; Dinwiddie, 1,000; Chesterfield, 700. This, we must remember, includes not only many who were born here themselves, but some whose parents also were native-born. In this study most attention is given to Prince George County, because here the Czecho-Slovaks are most numerous. Here they have participated most in community life; and the effects of their participation are easily discerned. Many of the problems they present or face are most readily understood if studied in Prince George; and here comparisons or contrasts are more easily made. Moreover, it was difficult to procure as reliable data elsewhere.

THE CZECHO-SLOVAK SETTLEMENT

The earliest arrivals of the Czecho-Slovak land-hunters had been tempted to the plains of the Dakotas, Nebraska, and Kansas by real estate promoters. They had suffered intensely, living in sod houses, breaking the stubborn prairie, and getting no crops. The story of the first family is here given by a girl of the third generation who recites the experiences of her grandparents:

"They left Europe in May, staying on the ocean three weeks; and came to America in June. And when they came to Nebraska they bought a farm which was not very good, some machinery, a cow, a pair of horses on which they were cheated and which they had to trade three times before they struck a good pair, losing a little each time. When they had all the things they needed, they had left six hundred dollars debts. And being late in the season, they couldn't plant any crops that year; so both Grandpa and Grandma went and helped their neighbors and worked for seventy-five cents a day.

"The next year they started to farm for themselves; and not being used to hard work, found it awfully hard. That summer they mostly lived on bread and butter and Irish potatoes. Grandma did not like it here and often cried and wanted to go back to Europe.

"They made a nice crop that year and also the following two, so Grandpa paid most of his debts. And they got used to hard work and began to like it here. The fourth summer was dry and the crop was small, but they did not mind that, so they thought the coming year would be better; but it turned out to be still worse. The summer was hot and very dry and the crops were smaller than the year before. The grasshoppers came and ate most everything there was, so many of them that the people could not see the sun for three days. The only thing Grandma saved in her garden was a head of cabbage over which she put a wash tub. She couldn't help but cry, for she worked so hard over it. Everything was like after a cyclone.

"The times were hard, but still the people forgot about that and every Sunday they would meet and dance and talk and enjoy themselves. The only music they had was a mouth harp, and they often thumped on the floor with a broom stick for a bass. Most of them danced barefooted so that they wouldn't wear the soles out on their shoes.

"That summer Grandpa read an advertisement in the papers about Virginia, telling about the nice crops and weather, and he was so interested that he talked it over with his neighbors. He and his brother-in-law came and found beautiful crops, berries of all kinds. The forest was nice and they liked it very much, for there was no trees in Nebraska. When they came back and told their friends, they would not

believe them. Not being satisfied, they came again in December; and to their surprise found the clover green by the roadside, and all the forest green, which they thought was wonderful. The weather was also nice, so Grandpa went back and sold his farm to buy a farm in Virginia.

"They did not know how to work the land and plant, so they found it much harder at first than in Nebraska. There were no machines, so they used hoes to make rows for corn and peanuts; and planted them by making holes with pointed sticks in the rows and dropping the peanuts in them and covering them with their feet. The first year they spent only thirty dollars for food. Grandma would come to town once a week for her marketing, and sold the eggs, three dozen for twenty-five cents. They lived six miles from Petersburg; and she, with her basket of things on her arm, would walk and get there by seven."

Another personal account of this first settler, who is still living but has to be interviewed through an interpreter, reads:

"Our first settler is Joe Machet. He moved to Virginia in 1887. From him we can find out interesting news about the harsh pioneer beginnings. Many were not welcomed. They came from the North like the wind. The people around here called the 'Northerners,' 'carpet baggers,' because they had only so much property as could be tied up in a knot. When they asked advice, the Virginians tried to ruin everything with bad advice. There was no trust in the stores. They would not even trust you with a pinch of salt or some pepper."

Once the nucleus of a colony had been established, the increase was insured. The first to arrive corresponded with friends and relatives, and wrote letters to the Slavic newspapers telling of the cheap land and the attractive climate in Virginia. *Slavie*, a Bohemian paper published in Wisconsin, and enjoying a national circulation, was responsible for many of these migrations. One of the first comers made it his business to write regularly to *Slavie*, describing Virginia in glowing colors. Parties interested would write him for more information. If they came to investigate, he met them at the station and introduced them to the real estate dealers and collected his fee if a sale was made.

The early arrivals referred to above were Catholics. They settled in the southern part of Prince George County. About the same time a colony of Czecho-Slovaks from the Bohemian Reformed Church, but identified in the United States with the Congregational Church, settled in the northern part of the county. There was little difference in the manner of growth of these two colonies or in the nature of their struggles. The case which we give is sufficiently typical to be representative of either group.

"After we were all in America about four years, my father began to look for farm because we were farmers in old country. He read about Virginia and he came down to see land. He bought forty acres for \$350 and pay \$200 down and the rest on terms. I stay in New York, where I was a button-maker, for two years more. Then I got married and came down also.

"The first year I came I rented twenty acres for one-fourth crop. I worked hard all summer and when I got crop in I went back to New York and leave my wife here. All winter I work there and in the spring I came back and rented ninety acres for one-fourth crop. Next year, for \$50.00, I rented 250 acres. I got it two years for \$100. The first year I got 1,000 bushels peanuts and the next year 1,800 bushels besides my other crops. Every winter I went to New York to work until 1907 when I buy my own farm. It was fifty acres and all in woods, with no buildings. I bought it for \$400, but only \$100 down. That winter we cut logs and had lumber sawed for house and barn. My brother was carpenter and helped me build. All we did with our own hands. And when we wanted money, we cut wood and hauled it to town for three dollars a cord.

"When I bought my farm I had four children already, but now I have six. Me and my wife worked very hard. She helped me clear the land. I would plough and chop stumps and she would pick up the roots. The first year we cleared five acres and the next year five acres more. In five years we had twenty-five acres cleared, and we saw that that was enough. It was big enough farm to keep us busy. The other twenty-five acres was pasture and woods. Some people need 200 acres, but we made good living on twenty-five acres.

"On twenty-five acres we keep six cows and 100 head chickens. Because we live six miles from town, we do not sell

milk but cream and butter. Besides we have eggs and vegetables. Two times a week I hitched up the horse and my wife went to town to peddle. She took care of the cows and chickens and garden and kept the house that way. She always had steady customers. She was always great help to me, and when my children began to grow they were great help also. That is how I could work on the farm always and my farm got richer and richer.

"Three years ago a man came and wanted to buy my farm. He offered me \$5,000. I did not want to sell, but I knew that if I did I could buy another farm for half that. Now I can buy my own farm back for half of that, because the American who brought it can't make it pay like I did. It takes lots of work. I am living in town for a while, but my family likes it best on the farm and we will buy another farm soon."

This man, in common with many others interviewed, was unable to view his feat in pioneering in any but a commonplace light. He worked hard and so did his family. They lived meagrely and made slow progress, but that was only what they expected. Many bought their farms upon arriving; but others, as the above man, preferred to start as renters, getting experience and buying their own land at the cost of rented land. His going away to work winters was not unusual, for during the slack months many of the Bohemians would—and still do—leave home to work for wages. The size of his farm is interesting. Most of the Bohemians have large farms, but those with small acreage are the most successful.

The Virginians also tell of the hardships endured by the Bohemians. They were always being shocked at the things the Bohemians did, at the way they lived. They remarked how the colonists would sell their chickens, their pigs, and all their dairy produce, while they themselves existed on the humblest fare. A man recalls that in his boyhood he was impressed by the way some Bohemian neighbors lived:

"Sometimes when I went by their place early in the morning I would see Sorak and his wife in the field. He would plough or grub stumps and she would pick up roots, or maybe she would be in the garden. Sometimes I would meet him in the evening going toward the James River with a sack on his back. He would walk down there five miles to where people

would seine fish, and bring all the little ones that were thrown away. I know they never had any other meat."

Not all the Bohemian farmers came for land only. Some came for health—from the mills and the mines, to escape the occupational hazards of industry.

"To say the truth I was forced to come here from Pennsylvania on the advice of doctors. They agreed that if I should stay in Pennsylvania I should not last a year but if I should come to Virginia I would get well. I followed their advice and bought an abandoned and unwanted farm, as all the farms were before the Czechs settled them."

With the exception of a small colony of forty families, these people came at different times and from different places. There are lines of kinship here and there, but the population is on the whole very heterogeneous. The exception mentioned is the cluster of Catholic families just south of Petersburg, in Dinwiddie County, who all came from the same community in Russia. The first family came in 1889, having been attracted by advertisements. After working about four years for American farmers this family bought a farm. Then the father persuaded his three brothers and a sister to migrate with their families and kinsfolk from Europe. The soil here was very poor and the problem of reclaiming it was most difficult; but it has now been brought to a producing level and the people are living in fair comfort. It was low-priced land from which the Virginians had moved and left the farming to the Negroes. This group of farmers, related by blood or marriage, is unique because they are not only isolated from the Virginians socially, as all the Bohemians are, but they are even isolated from the other Bohemians. They are Catholics and accessible to the other Catholic Bohemians; but they have seen fit to build their own church and social hall.

The period of colonization ended about 1914. Very few new families have come in since. Before that date nearly every real estate drive and land-sale scheme brought some settlers. After that date a number of rather extravagant booms were launched, but they all failed. In one such boom, in which a *History of the Bohemians in the Vicinity of Petersburg* was published for adver-

tising purposes, thousands of dollars were spent, but no Bohemians were attracted to Virginia. If anything, the state lost some of the early settlers. At the time this study was made there were in Dinwiddie County two farms that had been advertised in Bohemian papers for a year or more, and only one inquiry had been received.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF CREDIT

The Czecho-Slovaks around Petersburg see nothing unusual in their early struggles. When they came they expected work, and they expected to find themselves in contact with the ragged edge of life. They can't forget, however, the chilly or superior indifference with which they were received; and they never miss an opportunity to tell how no one would trust them. Says one man, "I could not get so much credit what I could put under my little finger."

The skepticism of the Virginians in the beginning of the Bohemian colonization is not hard to understand. No one was extending much credit to anyone. Farming had not proven a lucrative business, especially farming on the very poor land, and it was only poor land that the Czecho-Slovaks could afford to buy. It was good gambling to bet against them, because experience had taught that farmers could not live on these depleted farms.

Within ten years this opinion suffered revision. But even so the early friends of Bohemians desiring credit were not Virginians. There was a German seed man; there was a Bohemian who owned a general store and did a business of between \$50,000 and \$60,000 a year, much of which was credit; and there was a Northerner who sold mules, horses, implements, and wagons. These were the three men that first opened up the way to credit for the Bohemians. Before long the banks and other business men fell in line. Now in Petersburg business men in general agree with the physician who said of the Bohemians, "They are good pay and that is saying a whole lot around here."

This "good-pay" reputation of the Bohemians has after all a very material base. They contribute no small part to the production of the major crops, including corn, tobacco, peanuts, and cotton. Just what part could not be found out, but it is sufficiently large to win for them the respect of the Petersburg

Chamber of Commerce. The holdings of the Bohemians constitute the real basis of their credit. In Prince George County alone they own 32,000 acres, much of which is tilled land. According to the tax books of Prince George, there are 281 recognized Bohemian farms and 1,247 farms owned by Virginians. The average Virginian farm is of ninety-four acres, while the average Bohemian farm is of 117 acres. The 1920 Census shows that in Prince George County 57 per cent. of the Negro farmers are renters, while 33 per cent. of the native whites and but 2 per cent. of the foreign farmers rent their farms. While this is indicative it is not conclusive for the reason, already mentioned, that the term Bohemians includes many farmers who would be listed in the Census as native-born.

This earnest determination on the part of the Czecho-Slovaks to own their own homes and to keep them free from debt is the real basis of the confidence they enjoy. It is the natural compensation for their stolid honesty and patient toil.

Yet the Bohemian farmers are not wealthy. Few farmers in the Petersburg region are. A crop failure, a long sickness, a death—it does not take much to wipe out the surplus. It can be done easily by sending a boy to college and hiring a man to take his place on the farm. Their farms are going concerns because the Bohemians keep “at it” year in and year out. The big problem they all face, which taxes their every resource, is to make ends meet each year.

THE PROBLEM OF LIVING

Farming in Virginia is not a lucrative occupation, and those who get on best at it adopt various devices to supplement the income derived from the growing of crops. If the Bohemians have been more successful on the farms than the Virginians, the explanation lies partly in the fact that Bohemians have a lower standard of living, and partly in their greater alertness in supplementing their incomes. Perhaps the Bohemians, even the children of the third generation, are more conscious of the possibility of hard times. A little girl replying to a hypothetical question as to how she would spend a hundred dollars, said: “If I had \$100 I would not buy anything with it now. I would keep on saving them for hard times.”

Supplementary incomes are of three kinds: the sale of by-

products such as wood, gravel, stone; produce prepared for the market by the women and children; and wages earned by members of the family who have gone away to work. The chief by-products have been cord wood and logs. When the man in the case referred to by the Virginian cleared five acres of land each year, he was making a living off the wood and logs. One Bohemian sold the timber off his place for \$6,500 and bought a house in town from which he now draws rent. Cord wood is still a good source of income, since most of the houses in Petersburg are heated by wood fires and many of them still have fireplaces.

Any money brought in to the family budget by the women and children is called "extra." The small children may herd cows along the roadside and the mother may tend cows and raise chickens or plant a garden. When the mother takes the responsibility of going to town to peddle the produce from door to door the money so earned is also "extra." The only contacts many Virginians in the city have with the Bohemians are through these women peddlers. They entered the peddling field in competition with the Negroes but have converted it into a custom trade with which Negroes cannot compete. As for the Virginian farmers, they have never been able to bring themselves down to the level of peddling from door to door in competition with Bohemians, much less with Negroes.

When the Bohemians leave home to work for wages, they rarely go to the neighboring farms: farm wages are too low. Sometimes, however, a Bohemian will own a wood-cutting machine or a corn-shredder or a threshing machine, and will hire himself and his machine to Virginian farmers. Generally it is the young men that leave home for work, though recently there has been an increase in the number of young women leaving home. Most of them, men and women, go to the factories in Hopewell and Petersburg, where wages are discouragingly low—from \$8 to \$16 for women, and from \$10 to \$20 for men. Some who have trade skill are attracted to the larger cities; but even among these the rule is to work only during the slack seasons and return home for the crop season.

One of the interesting developments with reference to Bohemian labor is the recent tendency for the women to go into the homes as housekeepers. Formerly they worked in hotels, which was not always satisfactory, especially for the young un-

married women; but now the vogue is for girls interested in housework to find situations in families as soon as they leave school. The parents look with favor upon such work; and among the leading families it is coming to be considered the proper thing to have Bohemian maids and housekeepers. One hears on every hand that "they make right good servants." Such work is also popular among the girls themselves who regard it as a good opportunity to learn to keep house "American style," and they usually welcome any arrangement that their parents make for them to work in homes.

The Bohemians, in this colony at least, have not been speculators. Several years ago they did produce a get-rich-quick schemer who was so unusual a phenomenon that although he has been away four years he is still remembered as the local Ponzi. A few Bohemians have made money buying poor farms, improving them, and selling on a high market. But in general speculative enterprises would be inconsistent with their frugal lives.

A measure of the Bohemians' success in meeting the problems of living is to be found in the charity records. The Family Service League of Petersburg served 234 white families during the year ending May, 1926; but no Bohemians were among the applicants. They are poor, but they do not become pauperized.

RELIGIOUS GROUPINGS

The community life of the Czecho-Slovaks finds its most intimate expression through their religious organization. They are divided into four groups: Protestants, Catholics, Free Thinkers, and a small remainder of indifferent persons known among the others as "nothing." The last-named group consists of odds and ends and is not organized. The first three are; and for each group the organization is a dominating influence in the social life.

The Catholics, scattered over the three counties but most concentrated in the southern half of Prince George, number 900 to 1,000. The Protestants, in four denominations, are also scattered, but are most concentrated in the northern section of Prince George County. They number perhaps 1,000. The Free Thinkers and unchurched, as well as a group of occasional Protestants who swing from church to church, constitute the rest. It would be difficult to estimate the number of each of these

three groups. Most of the Catholics came from the Middle West, or directly from Europe. Chicago is "the city" to them, because there are Bohemian Catholic headquarters. The Protestants, having come from around Pittsburgh, Pa., look upon that city as their headquarters, while the Free Thinkers look toward New York.

The Protestants and Catholics were once very genial neighbors; but that was when the Protestants all belonged to one sect and one congregation. Their minister was cordial to all the Bohemians and even went to the Catholic dances. Both groups made light wine according to the custom in Europe. There was no proselytizing. But this minister died and another Congregational minister came to take his place. About the same time the Presbyterians established a mission among the Protestant Bohemians, which drew its membership from the indifferent or the disgruntled. Two ministers lived where one lived before; and both were receiving aid and reporting progress to outside organizations. The Bohemian colony became a mission field. Later the Lutheran church got busy and started a congregation, but it was put in charge of a travelling pastor. More recently the Baptists entered the field. They imported an ex-priest from Czecho-Slovakia, put him on salary, gave him an automobile, and set him to work to build up a church. This man, however, made so few converts that his salary was discontinued, and he left the ministry to work in a factory. A new minister was brought in, but he had only been on the job a few months at the time this survey was made. Thus there are now three Protestant ministers of as many Protestant sects where formerly there was only one, and all three evangelical churches look for support to missionary societies. Where once they met to worship, they now meet to proselytize, or to discuss reports on meetings attended, sermons preached, confessions made, and contributions. The total Protestant population has not grown much in a decade, there is little chance of converting the Free Thinkers or the "nothing" group, so that the Protestant sects can hope to grow only by taking members from one another. A strained feeling obtains. The different groups are watching one another; and all stand aloof from the Catholics and unchurched, except to attempt evangelization. The wife of one of the Bohemian ministers writes, "We wish every Czecho-Slovak in this country

would become a Christian." It was written in the Presbyterian Survey, "A large number of these people claim to be Catholics which means that they have no religious tendencies whatever; many of them are agnostics."

The Catholics have built three churches, one in each of the counties surrounding Petersburg. The four Protestant groups have five churches, all in the northern half of Prince George County—a Lutheran, a Baptist, a Presbyterian, and two Congregational churches. In addition, the Catholics have two social halls, one in Dinwiddie and the other in Prince George. Another hall in Prince George, that is used for various purposes, is owned by the Free Thinkers. The churches and halls, with two exceptions, the Presbyterian and a Catholic church, are plain wooden structures, well groomed and painted white. The furnishings are exceedingly simple but immaculate. The Free Thinkers' Hall, the two Catholic halls, and the three Catholic churches were built coöperatively by the people, while all the Protestant churches were built with financial aid from without. The last building the Catholics erected, the social hall in Dinwiddie, an attractive place that will accommodate 300 persons, was erected with a cash outlay of but \$80. The priest designed the building and the stage and painted the scenery, while the people had the lumber sawed and furnished the labor. In contrast is the Presbyterian church, which was almost entirely built by the Virginian Presbyterian congregations in Richmond and Petersburg; or the first Congregational church, toward which the outside churches contributed \$300.

In all the churches the Czecho-Slovaks speak their own language, a fact which has occasioned some criticism and has thrown them somewhat on the defensive. The Presbyterian minister explains, "The young people and children will soon prefer English, but for the present we dare not let our families go without the Word of God." The feeling seems to be abroad that to Protestants, the test of loyalty is anti-drinking, anti-tobacco, anti-dancing, and the use of English instead of a foreign language. The Catholics and Free Thinkers have no apologies to offer. They say, "We want our children to learn English, and they will learn English; but we reserve the right to ourselves to worship or carry on meetings in the language we know best. It is a comfort to our older people."

The efforts of the missionary societies to evangelize the Bohemians have accomplished little or nothing in giving them social status with the Virginians. The money for this work comes from the Virginians, but in such a roundabout way that it brings no social contact between Virginians and Bohemians. A case will illustrate:

The minister of a Presbyterian church in Petersburg became interested in the Czecho-Slovaks. He became acquainted with the Czecho-Slovak Presbyterian minister. They agreed that the mission was doing a great work and ought to increase its membership. Then they agreed on a plan. The Bohemian minister wrote down the names of a goodly number of unbelievers, principally Catholics and Free Thinkers. Armed with these names the Petersburg Presbyterian minister appeared before his church with a plea for prosecuting the local missionary work. Once he had his congregation committed to the need he passed the names out, two or three to a family, to be prayed for. The members in the congregation did not know who the persons were for whom they were to pray and often could not pronounce the names. The effort failed somehow, no personal contacts were made, and the church dropped back to the old custom of contributing money and leaving the details to this missionary society.

In the missionary society, the work is turned over to persons who make evangelizing their business, and it is carried on in a businesslike manner with yearly reports of progress and year-by-year comparisons. Each year's contributions are based on the record of the previous year.

The Free Thinkers, numbering fewer than fifty active members, have caused no little worry. Their interests are primarily social and intellectual. They meet regularly, not to worship but to play, to dance, to debate, to discuss and study questions of current interest, or to stage dramatics. Both Catholic and Protestant Bohemians consider them a dangerous æsthetic element, while the missionary societies look upon them as a force for evil "working overtime," and trying to destroy belief in God. A Petersburg minister is reported to have written and circulated among the Bohemians a tract aimed at the Free Thinkers. A copy could not be found, but it was written to the text: "The Fool Hath Said in his Heart, 'There is no God.'" The Free Thinkers have a leader, however, and they refer to him

as their "preacher." They have not been able to escape the need of some presiding official at such affairs as weddings and funerals. The chief rôle of the "Alliance of Free Thinkers," which is a branch of the "Svaz Svobodomyslnych," is anti-religious, but locally it lends itself to social and intellectual activities.

CZECHO-SLOVAK HOME LIFE

In the Old World these people live their social life in the intimacy of the family circle, supported without by the community life as found in the church and the village. In Virginia the people live on farms and not in a village where all the members of the community see one another each day. The church under whose eaves and by the guidance of which the family lived has become a detached institution. Yet the Czecho-Slovaks did bring with them their family culture traits and much of their manner of family life.

The family life of the Bohemians is extremely simple, drawing its social content largely from the work relations of the members. It is not a family held together by proud tradition as much as by reason of the fact that its members all share the common problem of making a livelihood. Four young women who work as house servants were interviewed. It was found that they all return home for week-ends and whenever they have time off. The same practice prevails at the silk mills in Hopewell. On Sunday all the Bohemians go home to visit.

The best evidence of the close-knit nature of the family is the lack of incorrigibility among the children: no children run away, and very few abandon their homes during adolescence.

This situation obtains in spite of the fact that the Bohemian's home is very bare, almost rudely furnished. It is the centre of the family culture; but objective art is lacking. Needlework, painting, and the objects of art for which their homes in Czecho-Slovakia are said to be noted, are rarely in evidence. There is no leisure in which to make them. A few carvings and other objects of adornment were found, but they were from the old country. But there were musical instruments in every home; and nearly every house had some small plot, and sometimes a whole front yard, fenced off for flowers. Except for these æsthetic touches, there is little to indicate that Bohemians are interested in anything but work. Yet the home is a centre of sociability,

and evenings, week-ends, and Sundays there is a good deal of visiting among the families.

The father's rôle as head of the family is frequently misunderstood by outsiders, who are shocked at the way he "works" his wife and children and the mean circumstances in which he "forces" his family to live. He will save money to build a barn while the family lives in a shed. The women rarely go to the polls; and that, too, appears to be an evidence of paternal domination. Upon closer examination, however, the relation of wife to husband does not prove to be one of submission on the one part and domination on the other. The wife is consulted in matters of general interest; she usually has a final voice in the buying or selling of land; she knows about the rotation of crops, and she knows which animals are to be sold and which retained. She is her husband's companion, intimately familiar with all the details of managing the farm. Indeed she is so competent a helpmeet that in case of her husband's death she can carry on without interruption the responsibility of the farm.

The Bohemian's home is the economic headquarters of his farm. The family is a working team in the domestic economy, and the labor is so divided that each member functions somewhere. There are no dependents. Work is the spice and the end of life. A schoolgirl of twelve was persuaded to write her life story. It is a brief document, less than five hundred words in length; but throughout there is only one theme—work. Three paragraphs are quoted in illustration:

"I much rather live on the farm than in the city. We have six cows and four horses. I milk two cows every morning and night. Every summer I make me a garden. It has peas, cabbage, beans, tomatoes, and potatoes. I do not dislike any flowers but I like the roses best of all.

"In summer when I don't go to school the days of the week pass like this: Sunday—I go visiting; Monday—I work in the field; Tuesday—I work in the field; Wednesday—I help wash clothes; Thursday—I iron clothes; Friday—I churn butter; Saturday—I go to town or stay home and get the house clean for the coming Sunday.

"Most every year I stay about two weeks from school so that I could help shake peanuts and cut corn. I like to do all kinds of outdoors work but I like best to graze geese. I do

that in the summer time and while they are grazing I study my lessons for the next session (school term). Cooking is my best housework."

On the whole, family life is happy but uneventful. There is little friction. The contacts of the family with the outside are few, so few in fact that frequently when strangers come the children run and hide. However, the stranger, once they are assured his intentions are honorable, is received with extreme courtesy. The earnest hospitality of the Bohemians is not even outdone by the proverbial hospitality of the Virginians.

SOCIAL LIFE

Social life among the Protestant Czecho-Slovaks differs essentially from social life among the Catholics and the unchurched. The Protestants do not dance, and they scorn the theatre. The others dance and stage occasional home-talent plays. House parties and picnics are common to both groups, but they form for the Protestants the chief pastime. The two groups differ also on the liquor question, the Catholics and unchurched being wet and the Protestants dry.

The scruples against dancing which the Bohemians have taken over from the Protestants, as Protestantism is interpreted to them by the missionary societies, have tended to divide families. The young people cross the line to dance with Catholics and Free Thinkers. Some attend the public dances. The other groups not only condone dancing but whole families attend the dances, which vary little from country dances elsewhere, except for the fact that all ages are present and all ages take part. The music is superior and does not include jazz. Orchestras are noticeable for the varied ages of the men, as well as for the fact that when the members wish to dance they draft men from the floor to relieve them. During the long waits between dances the children chase each other about the floor while the grown-ups gather according to their ages or buy drinks and sandwiches from the counter at one end of the hall.

The occasional dramatic pastimes consist chiefly of pageants and one-act plays. Each of the three social halls has a stage. Dramatic productions are usually given in connection with a dance, and here again all ages participate. Rehearsals are visiting fests where several families gather, and while some are re-

hearsing their parts the others make costumes and scenery or prepare lunch.

In their social life, Virginians and Bohemians seldom meet. Rarely does the Bohemian enter the Virginian's parlor. He comes and goes by the back door as a servant or peddler. At times Virginians attend the Bohemian dances, but when they do it is usually in a spirit of condescension or to make sport. At the time of the survey there was one notable exception, which caused much comment among the Virginians, in the person of a public official who attended the dances regularly and in a spirit that made him popular with the Bohemians. In Hopewell the silk mills stage weekly dances for the employees. Here Virginians and Bohemians dance together but that is all. During three years of such dancing there have been only two inter-marriages.

Until the war a store in Petersburg operated by a Bohemian was the rendezvous for the Czecho-Slovakian farmers from the three counties. In connection with the store was a saloon with a bar and tables. Here the farmers would meet to eat their lunch and drink beer. If any man wanted to meet another, or if he wanted to leave a message for another, he needed only to stop in at this store. If he did not meet his man, he could get in touch with him. The priest and the ministers would post notices of meetings here. A curious fact is that this was reputed to have been the only saloon in town in which there were no drunks. It died with Prohibition. After that the chain stores and "cash and carry" drove the old credit stores out of business. The farmers still go to town on Saturday, but they meet by chance and visit on the street. And the women window-shop or see the movies.

The newspaper is another leisure-time device and a means of keeping the various Czecho-Slovak settlements in touch with one another and also in touch with numerous movements of national interest. Like any other national or racial group the Bohemians have their societies. Among these are the "Sokol," a nationalistic gymnastic society, and the Free Thinkers' organization already referred to. There is also an insurance organization, the "Bohemian Slavic Fraternal Benefit Union." In the extra-church pastimes of a national, social, or political nature, much of the leadership is furnished by the Free Thinkers. The other groups wait for the priest or the pastor.

PARTICIPATION IN THE COMMUNITY LIFE

The Czecho-Slovaks are not reckoned as a force in the common life. They make no conspicuous efforts to stand out in the community either politically or socially. They are more tolerated than counselled with, yet they are described as good citizens, which in specific terms means that they are not "reds," and do seek citizenship. The fact that so many of them own property explains their interest in the ballot. The "voters' list" for Prince George County for 1926 shows that 61 per cent. of the eligible male Bohemians vote, compared with 39 per cent. of the eligible male Virginians. On the other hand, only 11 per cent. of the eligible Bohemian women went to the polls, compared with 15 per cent. of the eligible Virginian women.¹

The Bohemians have laid no claim to their right to hold office. One of the five supervisors in the county is a Bohemian who has been elected for three four-year terms. He is opposed bitterly at each election, but wins out. His reputation is good; he keeps his district out of debt; and the roads, bridges, etc., are in good condition. Another Bohemian tried for a position on the school board but was defeated. A Protestant Bohemian ran for the office of Commissioner of Revenue (assessor), but he was defeated by thirty-nine votes. Many of the non-Protestant Bohemians opposed him because they were skeptical about the sincerity of the Virginians who supported him. Some Bohemians would not vote for him because word had gone around that he was so anxious to prove that he was 100 per cent. American that he would not talk the Slavic language in the presence of Virginians. Other Bohemians would not vote for him because he was an outspoken dry, and was approved by the Bohemian Protestant ministers.

However, in a county like Prince George an election does not stir much interest unless it does centre in personalities. All be-

¹The numbers of Bohemian and Virginian voters were taken from the names on the tax list by a person who knows all the names in Prince George. The number of eligible voters in each group had to be estimated with what help could be got from the U. S. Census for 1920.

Class	MEN		WOMEN	
	Voting	Eligible	Voting	Eligible
Czecho-Slovaks.	176	287	28	254
Virginians.	520	1,310	197	1,281
Negroes.	54	1,168	0	1,118
TOTAL.	750	2,765	225	2,653

long to the Democratic party. There may be wet or dry Democrats or natives and foreigners, or Democrats of the old or new school, but all belong to the one party. The County Clerk has held office for thirty years or more. Now his son is taking his place. Each four years he is reëlected and nobody ever is put up against him. There are no political positions of consequence for which politicians may strive, and such as there are have always been held by Virginians. The same is true of the extra-political life. There is a semi-official body called the County Council, composed of county officials and leading citizens invited to membership, the purpose of which is to study and discuss the common problems of the community. Only one person of the Bohemian group, a Protestant minister, is on this board and he represents only one of the small factions.

The Bohemians serve as jurors whenever they are asked. The selection of jurors is in the hands of a commission appointed yearly by the district judge. As far as could be learned, this commission of three has always been made up of Virginians. They do call Bohemians, but their preference is for natives. The custom is to select men who are *known* to be good jurors. Thus some men are called again and again, and certain Virginians who live convenient to the courthouse look upon jury service as a regular source of income.

With reference to military service and support of the United States in the World War, one can do no better than quote the *Progress-Index of Petersburg*, September 4, 1919.

"No finer body of citizens lives anywhere in Virginia. They have been loyal to their old-country ideals but equally loyal to the flag of the United States. They bought Liberty bonds and helped win the war that their kinspeople across the seas might be free. In the meantime, as an industrious hard-working people who rarely if ever go into court about anything because they have the faculty of attending to their own affairs and living in peace, this colony takes second place to none."

This is a generous pronouncement carrying with it no little good will. It is, after all, but a newspaper statement that appeared in the flush of a drive that was being made by the business men of Petersburg to court the good will of the farmers.

Yet it is an estimate still maintained by the newspaper and the Chamber of Commerce; and it is a matter of common report that the Bohemians gave all they were asked to give, and often more than they could afford. The priest cites instances of his parishioners having borrowed money to buy Liberty bonds. He says he advised it lest they, being foreigners, be suspected of disloyalty. Seventeen men from the Catholic group entered service; but how many from the other groups could not be learned. During the war, a number of patriotic demonstrations were staged. At one, Charles Pergler, then High Commissioner from Czecho-Slovakia to the United States, was the guest. The Virginians were very proud to help the Bohemians greet him. It should be added that during the war the different religious factions worked together in fair harmony; but they went their several ways later.

Bohemians have a good record for law observance. Until the Prohibition law was passed they were rarely haled into court. Now a few are brought in for being drunk; and in Prince George County, as near as the records and the memories of the clerks could be checked, six have been tried for bootlegging—an avocation that was easily adopted since they had at their command experience in making liquor. The only record of a felony that could be found was of a train robbery in which a Bohemian and two natives were involved. Since this man was a Catholic and foreign-born, the act intensified the anti-foreign feeling which exists among Virginians of proud family tradition. The Bohemians disclaim the man, who is now in prison, saying that he would laugh at them because they had come to America to work, and that he strove to court favor with the Virginians. There was no record of juvenile delinquency unless one can describe as such two cases of parents who kept children out at work too long. Nor were there any cases on record of domestic difficulty among the Bohemians.

It may be said that Bohemians participate in the common life to whatever extent they are asked or permitted to share it. For example, when the Disputanta High School wished to fill in its yard, the farmers were asked to volunteer work with teams. The first day there were thirty-five teams, eighteen of which were furnished by Bohemians. The second day, in spite of the fact that the Bohemians were having a picnic, they furnished

eight of the twelve teams that came, and the third day they furnished nine of the thirteen teams.

EDUCATION

Czecho-Slovak children have the reputation of being slow in school. Six teachers interviewed agree that they are easy to discipline, and that they are serious, patient students, but that they learn with difficulty. It was found that both the children and the parents are interested so long as they can see that attending school is an investment in the preparation for life. They are aiming to be farmers, and anything in school that they feel contributes to this objective they accept. The visions they entertain, however, do not permit them to see possibilities beyond the sixth or seventh grades. And all this is equally true of the children, particularly the boys, of the Virginian farmers.

Fortunately, data were found to check the charge so often heard that Bohemian children are "not bright." In February, 1925, a survey was made of the white school population in the Prince George County schools. This was part of a state-wide survey and was carried on by a staff of experts using the Stanford Achievement tests. These examinations were reclassified for Bohemian boys and girls and Virginian boys and girls, the results showing no significant differences between the two groups. The table that follows gives the "E. Q.," or educational quotient, for the Bohemian and the Virginian groups in each grade, beginning with the second and ending with the seventh. The E. Q. is obtained by dividing the chronological age by the educational age and expressing the result as a percentage; so that when the two ages are the same the E. Q. is 100.

GRADE	BOHEMIANS				VIRGINIANS			
	BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS	
	E. Q.	Number	E. Q.	Number	E. Q.	Number	E. Q.	Number
II.	91	15	108	16	93	34	111	30
III.	96	12	100	17	95	49	102	29
IV.	91	21	97	16	95	57	99	40
V.	94	13	94	11	96	31	100	34
VI.	91	15	97	15	94	35	93	41
VII.	89	21	98	12	89	22	97	40
TOTAL AND AV. .	92	97	99	87	94	228	100	214

The examination sheets were studied to learn the subjects in which the Bohemians excelled. They were compared with the

Virginians in two subjects, reading and arithmetic. There were three reading tests: one for word meaning, one for sentence meaning, and another for paragraph meaning. In arithmetic there was a test for computation and another for reasoning. In the table that follows, boys and girls are classed together in each group, and the standard achievement for the United States is given.

GRADE	READING TESTS			ARITHMETIC TESTS		
	<i>Bohemians</i>	<i>Virginians</i>	<i>Standard</i>	<i>Bohemians</i>	<i>Virginians</i>	<i>Standard</i>
II. . . .	24	22	36	58	54	38
III. . . .	41	42	52	85	84	84
IV. . . .	74	85	102	106	116	112
V. . . .	99	110	129	151	138	147
VI. . . .	112	124	155	171	166	179
VII. . . .	141	154	175	193	183	241

In reading, the Bohemians, with the exception of the second grade, are from grade to grade progressively lower than the Virginians; yet both groups are in all the grades lower than the accepted standard for the United States. It is significant that the scores of Bohemian children in the second and third grades are not lower than they are, in view of the fact that most of the children do not learn to speak English until they go to school. Bohemians do not try to teach their children English at home, expecting the school to assume that task. Most of these children manage during the first year to make their grade and achieve a working knowledge of English. Yet from the first and second grade on their progress is slow. This will probably be less true in the future because the Bohemian children are using English more among themselves.

It will be noticed that in arithmetic the Bohemians are generally in the lead. In the fifth grade they are four points above the standard score (147) for that grade, and thirteen points above the Virginians.

In both groups, after they have passed the seventh grade or after they have reached fourteen years, the popular procedure is to discontinue school. In Prince George County only 941 white persons between the ages of seven and twenty, of a total number of 1,379, are in school. Of the total number enrolled, only 8 per cent. are attending high school, while the average for the United States is 15 per cent. The Disputanta High School, which is attended by nearly two thirds of the high-school stu-

dents in the rural part of the county, and is the most accessible school for the great majority of Bohemians, had seventy-nine students—twenty-seven Bohemians and fifty-two Virginians—at the beginning of October, 1926. In the graduating class for 1926 were two Bohemians, both girls, and fourteen Virginians. During the five previous years this school graduated fifty-nine students—seventeen Bohemians (9 girls, 8 boys) and forty-two Virginians (28 girls, 14 boys). All the girls except two Bohemians and one Virginian are either teaching or studying to be teachers, and all the boys, except a Virginian who went to business college and a Bohemian who works in a factory, have returned to the farm. There seems to be little interest in the professions on the part of either rural Bohemians or rural Virginians. When one of the leaders of the Bohemians, the only one of their number holding public office, was questioned on this point his reply was: "College I guess is all right but we are farmers and we like to have our children to be farmers. We have to work with our hands. College teaches people to work with their heads and that is not the way to farm. They want more than they can get on the farm so they go away."

The Bohemian children participate in school activities a good deal more than their elders participate in the social life of the community. In the contests, that is basket-ball, baseball, and track-work, between the schools they constitute regularly about half of the contestants. There is a girls' basket-ball team on which the Virginians are rarely represented. The consistent majority that the Bohemians have had in high-school sports has led Virginians to deprecate such sports as "common"; and among the Virginian girls there is no great striving to compete with Bohemians.

It should be added that there is very little reward in sight for higher learning, particularly for the Bohemians. The girls know that if they wish to become teachers they will have to leave home because Virginians have objected to their children being taught by "foreigners" of the second generation.

WHAT THEY THINK OF EACH OTHER

For all their brushing of elbows, the Virginians and the Bohemians are still strangers; nor have they shown much desire to get acquainted. Some Bohemians have tried to "belong,"

have aspired to hold a Virginian's status in the community, by adopting the Virginian brand of Protestantism and doing all the things conventionally required of good citizens. But to the Virginians they are still not "our kind." With certain exceptions, the Virginians adopt an attitude of aloofness, at worst haughty and at best patronizing. They will praise the Bohemians for hard work, honesty, and thrift, but they belong to another class. And neither Virginians nor Bohemians would be flattered by mutual comparisons. Each group recognizes in itself a certain kind of superiority, the Virginians being proud of their past and their traditions, while the Bohemians are secure in the thought that in the present struggle with the soil they have proved themselves the better able to survive. Certain of the Virginians, resenting the idea that in old Virginia, the cradle of the Republic, there should be children entering school with no knowledge of English, have tried to bring pressure on the schools to "Americanize" the children—which simply means to induce them to speak only English in their homes. The Bohemians, for their part, resent this interference with their language; and they look with disdain upon any of their number who goes so far in his attempts to "belong" that he refuses to speak the Slavic tongue. However, there has been no open friction over the language question, although there have been protests when teachers have tried to induce the children to speak English in their homes.

Throughout the community the Ku Klux Klan is found, although it is in no sense disturbing. It has stressed in its meetings white supremacy and Americanism; but it has not aimed any attacks at the Bohemians. It is more concerned with the traditions of Virginia, and constitutes a mutual-interest centre for the descendants of the old families. It is estimated that in Prince George County, with less than 10,000 population, there are about 900 Klansmen. This is a sufficient nucleus, it seems, to crystallize pro-Protestant, pro-Virginian sentiment. In no sense is this a militant group nor is it feared much by the out-groups.

In the past there was some feeling against the Bohemians because of their intimacy with the Negroes. They are reported to have eaten with them and to have shaken their hands, even to have called them "Mister." That is not so true now, if it

ever was. Except in isolated instances where they hire Negro labor, the Bohemians have little contact with colored people. They are in no sense dependent upon the Negro as the Virginians are. Farming to the Virginians would be difficult indeed were it not for the service of the Negro; and because they are so dependent, Virginians as farmers have never earned more than the contempt of Bohemian farmers. On the other hand, the Virginians, satisfied with their economic relationship with the Negroes, look with contempt upon Bohemian farmers who allow their women and children to slave in the fields.

THE FUTURE

The significant fact regarding the Czecho-Slovaks in the vicinity of Petersburg is that, although there is now a third generation, they have scarcely begun to be incorporated into the general population. They remain Bohemians, and the prospect is that they and the people of native stock will not soon be drawn closer together. So many factors conspire to feed the class consciousness and to forbid any intimate union. The future relationship of the two groups may depend upon a variety of conditioning factors—increase or decrease of population, dispersion, language, religious situation, economic factors, etc.

There is little likelihood of any substantial increase in the Bohemian population except by the birth-rate. The foreign immigration has all but stopped, and the prospect of attracting the foreign-born from other parts of the country is not promising. With the recent decline in rural land values, there is even a likelihood that some Bohemians may move away. Without the feeding-in of foreign-born, it is difficult to say how the internal structure of the group will be affected. It is possible that with the stoppage of immigration the Bohemians may get out of touch with the various national Czecho-Slovakian organizations and perhaps even cease to subscribe to the Czecho-Slovakian papers. At present more than half of their number subscribe to such papers or are affiliated with such organizations, all of which helps to keep them group-conscious.

The nature of the Bohemian community will be determined in the future by the distribution of its inhabitants. There seems to be a possibility of their scattering over a larger area, and the spreading seems to be going on faster than the increase of popu-

lation. There is also the beginning of a movement from extensive to intensive farming, or from large farms to small ones. Those taking the small farms are moving in close to Petersburg and Hopewell, where they do gardening and raise poultry or operate dairies, though at dairying they have had small success on account of the prohibitive conditions placed on them by the city health departments. Others are selling their farms and buying new ones with a view to speculation.

Thus there is a general shifting about, which may indicate an increased confidence that is itself a sign of increased economic security. The Bohemians need one another's society; but they are not as hopelessly dependent as formerly. Obviously they will need one another less and less in their material and business relations, however dependent they will continue to be in their social relations. There is the matter of language; but it is not unlikely that the next generation will speak English in the household. One of the latest factors that is likely to assist in bringing this about is the consolidated school with its school bus. Here the children meet informally every day and ride several miles together morning and afternoon. These and other experiences tend to make English the intimate language. In a number of homes it was found that among themselves the children do all their confidential talking in English, and do little or no reading in the Czecho-Slovakian papers.

Being in a Protestant community it is not unlikely that the Protestant Bohemians will break down the barriers sooner than the Catholics, who studiously keep to themselves. Some of the latter are so desirous of keeping to their language and religion that they have tried improvised schools to teach their children to speak and read Czecho-Slovakian.

Participation in community life will doubtless increase; but it would be surprising if it were to increase much for a decade, in view of the present attitudes of the two groups toward each other. It is questionable if even in a generation the Virginians would submit to any kind of Bohemian leadership, or countenance Bohemian initiative.

Between the two groups there are no open antagonisms. Though they do not like each other, they manage to keep out of each other's way. This state of affairs will probably not continue. In fact, conflict is already to some extent in evidence;

and the indications are that it will increase as one by one the Bohemians aspire to something besides the farm drudgery to which both their present inclination and Virginian policy now consign them. It made its initial appearance when Bohemian girls tried to secure local posts as school teachers. It has had some expression when other Bohemians have tried to break through politically.

So long as the Bohemians were content to be plain farmers, they were tolerated. And so long as they struggled for economic security, they were content to be plain farmers. Even now few of them aspire to any other occupation; but even here their reputation and rôle are a challenge to Virginian supremacy. Many Virginians protest that Bohemian success is overestimated. There are not likely to be many Bohemians invading the professions and business; but there will be some. With reference to the Negro, the Virginian has very definite notions about status. A Negro is expected to "keep his place." That state of mind is applied in a lesser degree to the Bohemians. Any effort they make to get out of their place is almost certain to stir opposition and antagonism.

SUNDERLAND

A Study of Changes in the Group Life of Poles in a New England Farming Community

BY THEODORE ABEL

An intensive study of the Poles in Sunderland, Massachusetts, was made to ascertain the degree to which a rural immigrant group has become assimilated. Since the most important aspect of assimilation is the breakdown of group unity and exclusiveness, the tracing of such a breakdown among the Poles in Sunderland has been the central theme of the study. The groupings within the Polish community, social opinion, collective activities, relation to other immigrant groups and to the native population have been analyzed in historical perspective to discover the changes that have occurred in these major manifestations of group-life.

THE COMING OF THE IMMIGRANT TO SUNDERLAND

Sunderland, Franklin County, Massachusetts, is a purely agricultural community of the Connecticut Valley. The township was founded in 1718 and was inhabited until the middle of the nineteenth century by early immigrants from England and their descendants.

From then on Sunderland began to decline, as did many other New England towns. The cities and the West lured many. Abandoned farms increased in number, while the farmers who remained, unable to procure help, could no longer cultivate their land adequately. By 1880 Sunderland was rapidly approaching the state in which such places, as Leverett which is practically abandoned, can be found to-day.

The rapid decline, however, was halted in the 'eighties by an influx of immigrants from eastern Europe. The first of these reached Sunderland about 1887 as railroad laborers. They lost their jobs, as a result of an economic depression, and ob-

tained temporary work on farms in the Connecticut Valley through which the railroad was being built. The American farmer was quick to realize the value of the cheap and reliable labor of these newcomers. Soon two enterprising citizens of Sunderland systematically recruited foreign labor from New York for the farms. They "delivered" immigrants to the farmers for ten dollars "a piece." Many of these people came directly from Europe. Thirty-four of the fifty-eight families found by the U. S. Immigration Commission in 1908 had had no previous residence in the United States.

The newcomer, though welcome, had to pass through a period during which he virtually occupied the status of a slave. He was regarded as an inferior and treated accordingly. He was overworked, ill fed, and badly housed. Four dollars was the monthly pay that he received. There are those living who vividly recount the bitter experiences they had to go through, the corporal punishment, and the malnutrition they had to suffer.

Inevitably, many rebelled and left the farms; and those who remained began to assert themselves. This usually occurred after the immigrant had acquired the rudiments of the English language, after he had acquainted himself with the character of American institutions and had made some contacts with people who were willing to advise him. The period of apprenticeship and humiliation was followed by growing opposition to the employer, by demand for increased pay and better treatment, and by a refusal to work overtime. In addition, the immigrants were quick to perceive that the change in the economic status of the employer was primarily their own contribution. "Why not work for ourselves?" was the obvious question they put to themselves. The Valley offered ample opportunity. The resources of its fertile soil were largely untapped because the native population lacked the stamina or determination to do the constant stoop-and-squat labor required by tobacco and onions, which had been shown by experience to be the crops best adapted to the soil.

The immigrant brought with him the qualities that admirably fitted him for the type of farming needed. In the survey of the Immigration Commission in 1907, the immigrants and their wives were classified on the basis of previous occupation as

follows: farmers and farm laborers, 76; manufacturers, 6; transportation, 1; domestic service, 4; public service, 2; and not employed, 47. The newcomers had the capacity and endurance for hard work that they had gained in their struggle for existence in the old country. They were satisfied with little and were willing to sacrifice the comforts, and even the so-called necessities, of life in order to get along. All that they needed was land, and there was plenty of it: abandoned farms, unimproved land, land overgrown heavily with scrub pine and oak—all to be bought for a low price.

The immigrant first turned his attention to this unimproved land. With his savings he bought a few acres; and, undaunted by the ironic comments of the natives, who declared the land "fit only to hold the world together," he put all his efforts into making it produce. He did this work during "leisure hours"; that is, in the evenings and at night when the day's labor on the farm of the employer was completed. In a short time this extraordinary effort was rewarded by excellent crops of tobacco and onions, and the immigrant became economically independent.

This was not necessarily the way that everyone achieved independence. There were those who bought abandoned farms by paying small amounts down and mortgaging heavily. In this they were aided by some far-sighted Americans who considered the working capacity of the immigrant an excellent security for an investment. One of these in particular, a Mr. Stetsen, rendered such inestimable service to the Polish immigrants that they called him the "Polish father." He guided the immigrant in his choice of a farm and gave continued advice and help. Though he sometimes lent up to 90 per cent. of the value of the farm, his confidence was never misplaced. Thus there has been a steady increase in the acreage owned by immigrants, who to-day possess not only farms that were run down, and others that were parts of larger farms, but also some of the best old places in Sunderland.

The following tabulation shows the increase in the holdings of the Poles and other immigrants, and the decrease in total acreage held by native Americans. The data have been computed from tax reports published for the years 1909 and 1921.

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LAND HOLDINGS OF NATIVE-BORN AND FOREIGN-BORN, 1909 AND 1921

NATIONALITY GROUP	LAND IN ACRES		Increase*
	1909	1921	
Native-born of Native Parents.....	5372.80	4076.45	—1296.35
Total Foreign-born.....	821.75	1556.25	734.50
Poles.....	510.00	934.00	424.00
Lithuanians.....	105.25	415.25	310.00
Slovaks.....	58.50	104.00	45.00
Latvians.....	148.00	102.75	— 35.25

*Minus sign indicates decrease.

Between these years, the native-born population was stationary, but the total foreign stock gained 38 per cent., which was less than half as fast as their land holdings increased.

The ability of the immigrant to establish himself so quickly, and to pay off staggering mortgages in a short time, was owing to the cheap labor offered by a numerous family, to his willingness to do the hard work, and to his low standard of living. An issue of the *Outlook* in 1910 gives a vivid description of the labor performed by the whole family:

"The children of the Poles toil as many of our fathers tell us they did when they were boys. In summer, in the humid heat of the valley, they are down on their knees from morning to night, deftly and quickly lifting the tiny weeds from the individual plants. On rows near by are the grandparents, perhaps an old wrinkled grandmother in a red petticoat . . . clawing out the weeds. The children first inspect the onions from their baby carriages. On the plains of Sunderland you may see at scorching noon a mother pushing a baby carriage along the onion row, then weeding up to it and repeating the process hour after hour. The baby handles his own bottle, which sours in the sun, learning self-reliance young and the advantages of an uncomplaining spirit. The little ones who only for the first four years are too young to work, the old who are never too old, the waistless mother who cannot make housekeeping and child-training her vocation and the stocky, sinewy father, all of them working together, make possible the large onion crop and its high profits. Americans don't grow onions—they haven't the back for it."

Furthermore, the Pole lived on the cheapest food and mostly in shacks or cheap dwellings and took boarders into already crowded rooms, to supplement his income.

While most of the Poles continued to work as day laborers during the time of gradual ascendancy that followed their period of apprenticeship, they have now given this up entirely. Only one Pole is employed in town at present, and he works on a dairy farm.

Three types of immigrants can be found to-day in Sunderland:

1. Those that cultivate their own land exclusively, all of whom own ten acres or more.
2. Those that work on shares with the American farmer in addition to cultivating their own land, less than ten acres.
3. Those that own no acreage and work exclusively on shares.

The numerical strength of these three groups is shown in the following tabulation.

STATUS OF FARMERS AMONG THE FOREIGN-BORN

NATIONALITY GROUP	NUMBER OF FARMERS			
	<i>Total Foreign-born</i>	<i>Share</i>	<i>Share and Own Under 10 Acres</i>	<i>Own 10 Acres and Over</i>
Total Foreign-born.....	207	114	58	35
Poles.....	111	62	30	19
Lithuanians.....	67	38	20	9
Slovaks.....	25	14	8	3
Latvians.....	4	—	—	4

Thus 83 per cent. of all foreign-born work on shares with Americans, and 45 per cent. own land.

The immigrants that have come to Sunderland have not all succeeded, nor have all cared to establish themselves permanently in this community. Some preferred to go to industrial centres, others returned with their savings to their native land. That the turnover was great is indicated by the comparison of land- and poll-tax payments for the years 1909 and 1921, as shown in the following tabulation.

NUMBER PAYING TAXES, 1909 AND 1921

<i>Nationality Group</i>	<i>1909</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>Both Years</i>
Total.....	345	490	158
Native-born of Native Parents....	209	183	129
Total Foreign-born.....	136	207	29
Poles.....	80	111	13
Lithuanians.....	30	67	9
Slovaks.....	18	25	4
Latvians.....	5	4	3

218 IMMIGRANT FARMERS AND THEIR CHILDREN

This tabulation shows a turnover for the foreign-born of about 80 per cent., in spite of which the foreign stock in 1921 exceeded in number the native-born of native parentage. Indeed from 1911 to 1918 inclusive there were more foreign-born in Sunderland than native-born. Each succeeding year increases the proportion of foreign stock in the total population, though the actual number of foreign-born has declined since 1918. Most of the gain among the foreign stock is due to the natural increase shown in the tabulation on page 219. It will be noted that there has been an increase in births among the native-born, despite a stationary population. Natural increase in this group just about equals the loss through migration elsewhere. The increased birth-rate among the native-born is locally attributed to the increased number of marriages, forty between 1920 and

CHANGES IN POPULATION, 1860-1920

<i>Date</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Increase or Decrease</i>	<i>Foreign Stock*</i>
1860.....	839	—	—
1865†.....	861	+ 22	55
1870.....	832	— 29	—
1875.....	860	+ 28	82
1880.....	755	—105	—
1885.....	700	— 55	55
1890.....	663	— 37	—
1895†.....	696	+ 33	118
1900.....	771	+ 75	228§
1905.....	910	+139	459
1910.....	1044	+134	638
1915.....	1271	+227	862
1920.....	1280	+ 9	872

*Includes native-born of foreign parentage.

†Odd-year figures taken from Massachusetts Census. Figures for 1925 are not available on account of the discontinuance of the state Census.

‡First Census after immigration had fairly set in. The increase has been due altogether to the foreign-born element.

§Estimated. These figures were not included in the Federal Census until 1910.

1924 as against a five-year average of twenty-six for the four preceding periods. This turn is doubtless partly caused by a change in the age- and sex-distribution of native-born Sunderslanders. A new generation has come to maturity and the older people that formed the predominant group up to 1910 have died off.¹ The decrease in the birth-rate among the foreign stock is attributed by the leaders of this group to the rising standard

¹The average age at death of the native-born for this quarter century was 65.5 years; for the foreign-born 26.8 years.

of living among the Poles and to definite limitation of offspring. The average age of the Polish group is also increasing, a tendency which is not shared by the Lithuanians or Slovaks.

BIRTHS AND DEATHS IN THE NATIVE AMERICAN POPULATION AND THE POPULATION OF FOREIGN ORIGIN,* 1895-1924

YEAR PERIODS	AMERICAN			FOREIGN		
	<i>Births</i>	<i>Deaths</i>	<i>Increase†</i>	<i>Births</i>	<i>Deaths</i>	<i>Increase†</i>
Total.....	341	297	44	762	207	555
1895-1900..	66	67	— 1	21	7	14
1900-1905..	50	48	2	71	19	52
1905-1910..	28	52	— 24	120	22	98
1910-1915..	36	39	— 3	196	48	148
1915-1920..	63	42	21	193	70	123
1920 to 1925..	98	49	49	161	41	120

*The birth statistics, as well as all others not drawn from Federal and state censuses, were compiled on the basis of names. The town records were checked with two residents of Sunderland who knew the community thoroughly, so that even anglicized names were placed in the proper column. No births, therefore, in the families of the second or third generations were included under native-born.

†Minus sign indicates decrease.

It will be seen that over the twenty-five-year period, 1900-1925, 27 per cent. of the 1,016 births were native of native parentage and 73 per cent. of foreign-stock parentage—proportions which roughly correspond to the respective strength of these two elements in the total population.

In view of the facts given above, a rapid increase in the enrolment of foreign-stock children in the school is not surprising, although the extent of the increase shown in the following tabulation seems to indicate a growing regard for the public school on the part of the foreign-born since the enrolment of this element in the school has grown more rapidly than the foreign-stock population.

SCHOOL ENROLMENT, 1909 AND 1925

YEAR PERIOD	NATIVE-BORN OF NATIVE PARENTS		NATIVE-BORN OF FOREIGN PARENTS	
	<i>Grades</i>	<i>Grades</i>	<i>Grades</i>	<i>Grades</i>
	<i>1-4</i>	<i>5-9</i>	<i>1-4</i>	<i>5-9</i>
1909.....	42	43	47	17
1925.....	39	21	196	87

THE GROUP LIFE OF THE POLES

In the general setting described in the preceding pages, the largest of the foreign nationality groups in Sunderland, the Poles, organized this group life which is the main concern of

this study. Beginning with collective activities that were only sporadic in the early years of the settlement, the Poles set out to construct a group organization and to institutionalize the needs of the individual members of their community. They first organized a benefit society in 1908; and then began efforts to build a church so as to be free from the control of the Irish church in South Deerfield.

The guiding force in this attempt to create a community life of their own was the realization on the part of the Poles that they had little in common with the natives, relations with whom were still strained. They had to be self-sufficient in the pursuit of their economic and social interests. Their strong feeling of national solidarity was strengthened by sharing the experiences of the early struggle for survival. Furthermore, the Poles that came to Sunderland were alike as to status, and traditional and intellectual background, since most of them were peasants from western Galicia. These conditions made possible intimacy of acquaintance, indiscriminate association, practically unanimous social opinion, and readiness to respond to a call to collective activities if appeal was made on the basis of solidarity.

In the course of the twenty-odd years of community life, the situation has changed radically, and a marked deterioration of Polish unity and solidarity has set in. True, all the Poles in Sunderland know one another well and know about one another's affairs. When they come together at the grocery store, in the churchyard after Sunday service, or at picnics, they show familiarity in their relations, and address one another by "thou," which gives evidence of a feeling of attachment and likemindedness.² Preferential association, however, has been substituted for the original indiscriminate association among Poles, with the result that the unity of the group has been broken up. What, then, have been the factors that have led to this change, and in what ways is the change manifested?

²It is interesting in this connection to note that this acquaintance extends beyond the territorial boundary of Sunderland and comprises in a wide radius the Poles of Hadley, Hatfield, Whatley, South Deerfield, and Greenfield. The "okolica" (the country around) that Thomas and Znaniecki found to be a territorial unity peculiar to the Polish peasant exists here and forms the basis for a wide group integrity. Recently a wedding of a member of a prominent family in Sunderland had to last a week to give all the people from the outlying districts in the Connecticut Valley a chance to call upon the bride and groom and bestow their gifts and congratulations.

GROUP DIFFERENTIATION

The appearance of preferential association is due to the division of the original group into a number of groupings and the ensuing opposition and alienation on this basis. A differentiation may lead to a higher integration; but in the case of the Poles in Sunderland, differentiation created a tendency toward identification with similar groupings outside the Polish community and therefore worked toward diminishing exclusiveness on the basis of nativity.

Among the aspects of group differentiation, varying standards of living and of progressiveness and conservativeness of attitudes were most important.

The Standard of Living

There are Polish families whose plane of living shows clearly that they have changed but slightly the standards of living they brought with them. The maintenance of their homes, personal hygiene, living habits, and points of view have been little affected by residence in America. With this stationary standard of living goes a lack of adequate care for the young. Infant mortality among the foreign-stock families of Sunderland averaged 17 per cent. for the twenty-five years between 1900 and 1925, as against 7 per cent. among the native American families. In part, this lack of care is due to the fact that for six months in the year the mothers work in the fields and have no time to provide proper meals for the children or to look after them in other ways. As the children grow no effort is made to induce them to stay at home or to make home life attractive to them. Higher education also meets with opposition, partly because it means the loss of working hands, and partly because of a misconception of its effects. As one informant put it, higher education "only makes bums and loafers and plants wrong ideas into the minds of children."

On the other hand, there is a minority group, estimated as about one third, who have acquired a new and higher standard of living. The differentiative characteristics of this group are its opposition to labor by women and children, and its use of birth control, a most radical departure from firmly intrenched

traditions. There is a marked determination on the part of this group to regulate their working hours so as to have some leisure for the pursuit of other interests. The homes of these people show with what care they have endeavored to utilize all the comforts that modern inventions make possible. They are desirous of sending their children to high school and college. They have adopted modern educational and hygienic standards in bringing up the children. They have books, magazines, and musical instruments.

Various influences have led to the changed standard of living of this group of Poles. Of first importance is the indirect influence of the natives whose ways of living this group imitates, largely because it desires to reach an equal footing with the natives and is sensitive to their opinion. The remark of one informant, "I would not go barefoot because what will the English think about me," is an expression of the general attitude. Next come the influences of such magazines as *Country Life*, *House and Garden*, and *The Delineator*; and the annual Polish Farmer's Day, on which occasion a variety of topics that have a direct bearing on the question of standards of living are discussed. The influences to which girls have been subjected during their work as domestics in American homes, either for a period of years or temporarily during the winter (if they do not go to tobacco shops), also require mention. The girls thus acquire knowledge of American modes of life which they attempt to realize afterward when they establish their own homes.

Progressives and Conservatives

A second differentiation is that between progressives and conservatives, which overlaps considerably the differentiation according to the standard of living. The departure of progressives from the conservative and traditional modes of behavior is manifested in their attitude toward the church, characterized by a great deal of skepticism and criticism; their desire to associate with Americans; their opposition to national conservatism; their wider horizon of knowledge that makes judgment less narrow and conventional; and their attitude toward their own and their children's education.

The effect of these differences in attitudes within the Polish community is far-reaching, in that it has broken down the

original solidarity and unity and caused an undercurrent of bitterness and scorn that sometimes comes out in the open. Members of the progressive group do not join societies and they consider the people belonging to societies as not of their own class. Progressives, however, whose enthusiasm for change leads them to proselytize, are likely to be disciplined. One such, who urged the Poles to collective efforts to raise the status of the community, was expelled from the organizations to which he belonged, and was finally driven by social ostracism to leave the community. It is significant that, while there were many who could have supported this man in his efforts, he encountered a great indifference on the part of the progressives. This indifference is in itself a sign of a disintegration of national solidarity. Among the progressives in Sunderland, attempts at change are individual and not collective efforts and they are not associated with any desire to make them a part of the raising of the general standing of the Polish community. There is an evident lack of group spirit on the part of the progressive Poles. Rather, they identify "Polishness" with a low standard of living and with conservatism, and there is a consequent departure from a former intensity of national feeling.

Other facts bear on this point. In city communities, as Thomas and Znaniecki have shown, differentiation is usually accompanied by the appearance of factions within the Polish community, which generally follow the party alignment in the old country. In such cases there is evident national feeling that prevents a break with the group but leads to opposition within it, such as a struggle for control and a desire to impose opinion upon the group. While there is enough explosive material in Sunderland and differences of opinion are pronounced, factionalism is conspicuously absent. That the lack of national feeling is responsible for this is brought out by a comparison with the situation that prevails in Hadley, a community near by.

The Poles in Hadley belong to Northampton organizations that foster a strong nationalistic feeling like all city organizations that are under the influence of super-territorial national alliances. Here there are two organized opposing factions within the Polish group. Two years ago a serious clash occurred between these two factions as to who should control the benefit society. Only the intervention of the police, whom both sides

had been foresighted enough to invite to the meeting, prevented a free-for-all fight.

Classes

Intersecting the aforesaid groupings is differentiation into classes, which also contributes to a break-up of original homogeneity. Class differentiation does not coincide with the differentiations mentioned before. It is not the rich in Sunderland that have the highest standard of living, and the progressive elements are to be found mostly among the small-farm operators.

Class differentiation is a recent development within the Polish community in Sunderland. In earlier years when, because of cheap land, everybody had the same opportunity, economic ascendancy of the individual was tolerated. Differentiation into classes has arisen despite a decided and continued tendency on the part of the Poles to maintain equality of status. Superior-inferior relations are therefore absent within the Polish community. It has been until recently the custom to elect a president of the benefit society every half-year, "so that everybody may have a turn and nobody get too self-assured."

But to-day antagonism between the rich and the poor farmer has set in, and has lead to class formation. The richer Poles are exclusive. They do not attend the communal picnics, and do not invite everybody to social functions as the custom demands. There is, for example, the case of a wedding in one family, to which only those who had at least thirty acres were invited, including many from a distance, while the immediate neighbor was not asked to come. The attitude of the poor farmer is shown in the case of a man who had been very successful as a speculator in onions. He had been interviewed by reporters and write-ups had appeared in several papers, with his photograph captioned "The Polish King of the Valley." Shortly afterward he failed in new specualtions and his picture, cut from the newspapers, was found posted on telegraph poles with sarcastic remarks.

The class differentiation that has set in in recent years and split the Polish community has probably been caused by the increasing difficulty encountered by the individual in his effort to improve his economic position, owing to the higher price of land.

Improvement is now possible only under exceptional circumstances. This is evidenced by the fact that a considerable number of Poles have moved away in recent years—to Northfield and vicinity, where land is still cheap. Success of others, which previously was welcomed by all, now calls forth an attitude of envy. For this reason Polish merchants frequently fail for lack of the support of their countrymen. An informant expressed the general attitude when he said, with reference to a Polish grocer: "I don't see any reason why he should work easily and not raise onions and soil his hands as I do—and why his wife should sit around on the porch while my wife works in the field."

SOCIAL OPINION

We have seen so far the breakdown of group solidarity manifested in group differentiation, and ensuing preferential association. The analysis of social opinion and of collective activities will present further causes of this phenomenon.

For obvious reasons social opinion could never be as dominant and far-reaching in an immigrant community as it is in the old country. The community is much poorer here in recognized rules and forms of behavior. Furthermore, the conditions that the immigrant encountered in this country, his determination to rely upon himself, and the frequent inability of the Polish-American community to meet his need, have developed in him an individualism and a feeling of independence. While still sensitive to approval, he is less affected by disapproval, since the group is not strong enough to make conformity the best policy. Success, rather than fear of group disapproval, has become the determining factor in guiding conduct; and judgments are made more on the basis of purely economic or hedonistic considerations than upon consideration of social opinion.

The force of social opinion, never as strong as in the old country, is weaker to-day than ever before, except with regard to church allegiance. Religious feelings are deeply rooted in the Poles. While there is evident widespread skepticism among the progressives as to certain beliefs and religious forms, no actual opposition to the church as such was discovered, a situation for which the liberal and open-minded attitude of the priest is without doubt in large measure responsible. This uniformity of

opinion as to church allegiance is of great importance, since upon it depends whatever solidarity still exists among the Poles. For them the church stands as a symbol of group unity and has always been not only a religious, but also a community, centre around which the various organizations are built, and from which collective activities radiate and opinion is moulded. The community has always looked to the church for leadership and nothing of importance could find support unless the priest approved of it. Church allegiance and group solidarity are, therefore, closely interwoven, so that loyalty to the church has become an expression of loyalty to the group. Only the break-up of the church, therefore, could make the break-up of the group complete.

For all other aspects of group life, however, there is lack of uniformity of social opinion and no exercise of social control. The differentiation already noted has created different centres of interests, different standards and tendencies of action, and has made control ineffective while it has hopelessly split social opinion.

But the decrease of group solidarity that is evidenced by this situation is further accentuated by the fact that outside influences assert themselves in the control of individual behavior. To-day the opinion of the natives has become a criterion of action. Frequently the assurance that an activity will not be looked upon unfavorably by Americans, although it will displease the Poles, is sufficient to bring the activity about.

While it is largely the progressives that tend to identify their own opinion more and more with the fancied or real opinion of the natives, sensitiveness to the opinion of the natives is not strange even to the conservative group. Here it is bound to some extent with group pride. Some time ago drunkenness and brawls were a frequent occurrence at Polish festivals and celebrations (see page 238). The natives of Sunderland had many opportunities to remind the Poles that this behavior made them undesirable citizens. To-day it is the prevalent opinion of the Poles themselves that such conduct is unseemly. This increasing dependence upon the opinion of the natives again shows the waning of group exclusiveness and the consequent disintegration of a group unity.

COLLECTIVE ACTIVITIES

The breakdown of group solidarity is most conspicuous in the falling off of collective activities and the disintegration of established organizations.

The Poles in Sunderland had institutionalized a considerable part of their social, religious, and economic interests. But most of the collective enterprises of earlier years: theatre groups, bands, singing societies, sport clubs, collective meetings, elaborate wedding and christening ceremonies, are now things of the past. Even Polish national holidays, the celebration of which for a long time was a duty in the eyes of the Poles, and at the same time a manifestation of national solidarity, are no longer observed. The Poles also, in previous years, frequently held parades that fulfilled, in their opinion, the important function of displaying national solidarity and gaining recognition for the group. Participation in parades was strictly enforced and members of the various organizations had to wear uniforms. But now parades have gone into the discard and the uniform is abandoned.

Furthermore, in recent years, attempts at organization of new enterprises have all failed. The establishment, a few years ago, of a coöperative that was to supply the Poles with groceries, failed after a short time because of lack of coöperation on the part of the shareholders and corruption on the part of the organizers. Both causes are evidence of singular lack of group spirit and show how deficient national solidarity already had become, since the appeal was made deliberately to the sentiment for Polish solidarity.

Then, too, some enterprising individuals have attempted to build up in the parish the organizations that have been successful among urban Poles; but they have found unsuspected obstacles in what they regretfully call "the lack of interest in building up the Polish community and in seeing the Polish community grow."

Finally, plans have been made to organize a parochial school to instill a national feeling in the young and to preserve the Polish language; but they never have been carried out because of lack of support.

This may be partly accounted for by the lack of adequate leadership that is rather conspicuous here. There is no outstanding layman whom the Poles look to as a natural leader. But in previous years, under the same conditions of leadership, numerous enterprises were successful. It is therefore the lack of community spirit that is primarily responsible for the decline in collective activities.

Only a few collective enterprises persist to-day: the parish that serves the religious interests, occasional picnics and dances that serve inadequately the desire for social enjoyment, and finally the rapidly declining benefit societies. Since these societies were, next to the church, the most articulate expression of group solidarity, their decline is a conspicuous example of the decline in group activity.

There are still four benefit societies existing, all of the same character and with identical constitutions.³ The societies have always fulfilled three important functions in the community: First, they protected the members in case of sickness and aided their families in case of death. Second, they afforded at their monthly gatherings opportunities for the members to exchange ideas and to discuss their own problems and those of the whole community. The organizations, therefore, served to a great extent the desire for response and the maintenance of group feeling. Third, the societies were instruments for the realization of all plans initiated in the parish.

The first two functions are still exercised, but to a far less extent than in previous years. Protection of economic interests is sought now from insurance companies, and the differentiation within the community is inimical to the indiscriminate association that was the basis of the success of society meetings in previous years. Gatherings that were once mass meetings now attract a handful of people only, and membership has declined. In earlier years practically everybody belonged to one or two societies. To-day in the St. Stanislaus society, which built the church and is the oldest and most respected organization, the membership is below forty and its leaders speak of an approach-

³The benefit societies grew out of a need for organized giving during the formative period when, because of lack of savings, sickness, accident, and death were calamities that required the help of others. They developed, therefore, from spontaneous exercise of communal solidarity.

ing disbanding. The two other men's societies pool at present a membership of around 150, which is not much, considering the fact that they extend over four townships. The societies have difficulty in securing new members, as the young refuse to join them and prefer to join the Knights of Columbus, which gives them greater prestige and wider contacts.

The last function is to-day only a nominal one. There is a practically complete cessation of activities of the societies. Outside of the obligatory picnics to fill the depleted treasury, nothing is done or planned.

RELATION OF POLES TO NON-POLISH GROUPS

The discussion so far has been concerned with relations and processes within the Polish community that point to a marked deterioration of group solidarity.

The question now arises as to whether evidence of this decline can also be traced in the relations of the Poles to the non-Polish groups of the Sunderland community.

RELATION TO OTHER IMMIGRANT GROUPS

The tables printed earlier in this study have shown the presence of small immigrant groups other than the Poles. Initially racial differences among these groups were minimized. The immigrant was seeking a foothold in Sunderland in the face of a strongly intrenched native population. Any increase in his ranks was welcome. Common interests and problems tended to unify all the foreign-born. This state of affairs lasted as long as the ethnic groups remained unorganized, i. e., as long as they did not set out deliberately to maintain their national integrity; and when they did, the process was gradual.

For some time, the other immigrants trailed along with the Poles and took part in their collective enterprises. They joined the Polish benefit societies and participated in Polish community affairs. This acculturation was due to a great extent to the superior position which the Poles occupied in Sunderland. They were the only Slavic group of which the natives had some knowledge; and until the end of the war all immigrants in Sunderland, and for that matter in the whole valley, were called indiscriminately "Polanders." Because of this, the Poles possessed prestige, in which the other immigrants tried to

share by "joining in" with the Poles. There are some Lithuanians and Ruthenians to-day who consider it offensive to be reminded that they are not Poles; and it is a common observation that children of Lithuanians, Ruthenians, or Slovaks, when interrogated about the nativity of their parents, say they are Poles.⁴

Most conspicuously is this attempt at identification shown in the use of the Polish language as a general means of communication, not infrequently even in the homes of members of other Slavic groups.

The first definite break occurred when the Poles built their church. The Lithuanians demanded as a condition for joining that the Lithuanian language be used in the church at specified times. To this the priest objected. But this refusal pushed too far the desire for supremacy on the part of the Poles. The Lithuanians, with the exception of about twenty families, joined the Irish church and severed their connections with the Poles by organizing a benefit society of their own.

The Ruthenians for a time attended the Polish Roman Catholic church, although they were Greek Catholics themselves. But the war brought about a break. The post-war events in Poland, the frustrated attempts of the Ruthenians to establish their political independence, caused great agitation among the Ruthenians in the parish. Many heated encounters took place, and the Ruthenians finally broke with the Poles in 1919 and built a church of their own opposite the Polish church.

As a result of these events there appears to have been less intermarriage of recent years between the Poles and other Slavic groups than there was up to 1915. This phenomenon, however, probably represents a merely temporary recrudescence of group solidarity, and against it is to be put the fact that association among individual members of the national groups is increasingly based upon similarities in attitudes and standards of living rather than upon racial considerations. Thus preferential association tends to break down racial barriers and a consciousness of membership in the wider community is gradually developed.

⁴This in itself is of interest as it goes to show that once the "stigma" of foreign descent has to be revealed, an effort is made to identify oneself with the group that has the greatest prestige among the natives.

RELATION OF POLES TO THE NATIVE POPULATION

The relations between the native stock and the Poles in Sunderland is in marked contrast to the relations between these groups in such cities as Northampton and Greenfield. In these cities the Poles live in isolated neighborhoods and have hardly any intercourse with Americans, nor much chance to meet them outside of their work. Life in the country, especially in purely agricultural communities, such as Sunderland, creates a different situation. The natives and Poles have many things in common, especially the all-prevailing economic interest. This furnishes a bond that unites the members of both groups, that transcends racial, social, and religious distinctions, and that has grown stronger with the increasing economic resources of the Poles. It furnishes an inexhaustible source of conversation between Polish and American neighbors. The same problem of cultivation confronts both, the success or failure of the crops and the condition of the market affect everybody alike.

In the country, too, everybody knows everyone else and about everyone else's affairs. The Americans gossip about the affairs of the Poles and vice versa. Anything out of the ordinary that may happen to a person is of concern to the whole community. Relationships shift on a plane where human interest in personality can assert itself, and contacts that lead to greater intimacy and friendship are made possible.

Furthermore, the conventional class distinctions are absent. Everybody is a farmer and no discriminations are made on grounds of occupational status. This has helped the Pole to overcome to a considerable extent the attitude of servitude and submissiveness that the rigidly drawn class distinctions in Poland developed, and that he tended in the beginning to transfer to his dealings with Americans. He has acquired a feeling of self-reliance and self-possession that strikes the outsider as soon as he comes in contact with the Poles.

The amiable relations between Poles and Americans as they appear to-day have developed gradually. The low status of the immigrant when he arrived in this country was first reflected in an attitude of resentment on the part of the natives that precluded any closeness of contacts. But the improvement of the economic condition of the Poles, and the recognition of the

contribution of the Polish population to the tide of prosperity that so unexpectedly was brought into the valley, have led to a corresponding change in attitude. The fact that Poles have increasingly entered into partnership with Americans has caused further improvement. The Pole has made himself indispensable to the natives. "What would we do without the Polanders?" is the agitating question that the American farmer asks. The feeling behind this confession could not but have a profound effect upon relationships between the two groups, especially since the Poles have never given cause for the development of antagonistic feelings. So far as the investigation could ascertain, there has at no time existed between the two groups any acute conflict.

Some Americans, of course, for reasons of their own, have even now not changed greatly their original attitude of resentment toward the Poles, just as some Poles have not been able to shake off the "servant-to-master" attitude and still regard the natives as in some way superior to themselves. A recent incident revealed both the persistence of the anti-Polish feeling and also the fact that it is confined to a minority of the native population. One of the Poles bought a lot in an exclusive part of Main Street, and two Americans at once started to circulate a petition asking the town government to repeal the deed. They wanted to prevent the Poles, who had already firmly established themselves in the northern part of Main Street, from penetrating farther. The petition, however, received no support, signatures being refused on the grounds that "the Poles have just as much right as any one of us to purchase a lot if they have the money," and that there was no reason why the Pole should make an undesirable neighbor.

The Pole is considered a desirable and respectable citizen now by a vast majority of the natives and has become part and parcel of the social structure of the Sunderland community. The official account of the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the foundation of Sunderland has caught the amiable spirit that exists between the two groups:

"There were about one hundred and forty males in the cast. This number was made up of some seventy-five native sons, thirty Polish men and thirty high-school boys. The fair sex was also well represented, there being about seventy in the cast including some of our Polish young ladies. It might be

added that our Polish neighbors performed their task splendidly and that this common interest, which extended over the rehearsal period of several weeks, has served to increase the mutual respect which has for a long time existed. . . .

"Thirty or more of our Polish neighbors under the leadership of 'Captain' Alec Grypko were in the scene and their excellent marching to the Polish National Airs called forth much applause. . . . The last scene in the pageant represented the first Polish Farmers in Sunderland. A Polish peasant comes through the trees, scythe in hand, and seats himself on the hillside as a group of Yankee children gather about him for a story. He describes to them Poland's struggle for freedom and, when he is in the midst of his recital, Kosciusko's little army of peasants appear upon the green, visualizing the story of Poland's struggle to throw off the fetters of autocracy."

The development of friendly relations between Poles and Americans has, however, not reached the stage where one can speak of a social amalgamation. With the exception of a few progressive Poles whose standard of living is high, who have developed intellectual interests, and who associate exclusively with the natives, the Poles have not yet been drawn into the intimate circle of the social life of the Yankees.

For the bulk of the Polish population the economic interest alone offers common ground with the natives. There are differences in point of view, in religious beliefs, in intellectual standards and traditional background, and in such subtleties of conduct as habits of living and etiquette. While these differences do not prevent friendly relations among neighbors, it is evident that they preclude social participation, which requires a degree of likeness that does not exist among the groups taken as a whole. Therefore, there is reluctance on the part of the natives to draw the Poles into their intimate circles, and there is also a feeling of uneasiness on the part of the average Pole when he happens to be with a group of Americans. As one informant put it: "I was invited to attend a party given by an American neighbor. I did go but I stayed only for a few moments. I had nothing to talk about and did not know what to do. I felt out of place." Occasional dances in the town hall to which everybody is invited are attended by only a few Poles, who usually stay by themselves. This lack of social contact has

so far stood in the way of intermarriage between Poles and natives. In the two cases that have occurred, the natives were not Sunderland people.

Among the elements that have prevented social amalgamation, the most important is religion. Just as the social life of the Poles and their community interests are centred in the Polish church, so a great deal of the social life and interest of the native is organized around the Protestant church. Thus the church is in both cases a powerful agent in establishing bonds of community feeling. The natives consider the Catholic church un-American, and the Poles' allegiance to it is the natives' main objection to them: "If the Poles would be Protestants, everything would be well with them." That this is a genuine profession can be seen from the fact that the few Latvian families in town that are Protestants and attend the church in Sunderland have been entirely assimilated and are no longer considered foreigners.

Nevertheless, the consensus of opinion as to the un-American character of Catholicism has not led to any acts of religious intolerance. In the early period of immigration, about 1900, the church in Sunderland set out on a definite programme of "converting" the Pole to Protestantism. For this purpose a Polish Bible reader was brought from Cleveland. The efforts at proselytizing were a complete failure and were soon permanently abandoned. The K. K. K. is conspicuous by its absence. The Poles, on their part, consider the natives heathen, an attitude which is less accentuated than formerly, but still prevalent. But there is no radical opposition to Protestantism. In fact, the marked liberalization of the religious conception of the progressive Poles is due partly to contacts with Americans and to the opportunity to observe and compare. Then, too, the liberal attitude of the Polish priest, the progressive press, and the ideas that the National Polish church is spreading, have contributed to a modification of attitudes as to ritual, the position of the priest, and church dogmas. Even among the still considerable number of conservatives that have preserved the traditional attitude toward the church, there has taken place a marked elimination of magical and superstitious elements which Thomas and Znaniecki showed to be characteristic of the Polish peasant. Influence of liberal tendencies, for example, can be seen in

the fact that church holidays which are particularly sacred to the Polish peasant are not kept as they were fifteen or twenty years ago.

In the reluctance on the part of the Poles to participate in collective enterprises of Americans, there are signs of persisting group solidarity. As a rule, the Poles participate only if opportunity is given to them to display their national particularisms. This is shown in the anniversary celebration mentioned above and in the case of the annual Christmas celebration held in South Deerfield. The main feature of the celebration is a pageant in which the Christmas customs of various countries are shown. Here the social significance that the celebration has for the Poles makes them willing to coöperate. Where no chance for such display is given, they will not participate collectively. For example, the year this study was made the Americans arranged a pageant for the Fourth of July celebration and invited the Poles, but failed to give them a part, whereupon, the Poles organized their own celebration.

The lack of solidarity that is shown in the relation between Poles and the native population, and that has its main roots in religious differences, is not, however, so pronounced as to lead to any organized opposition in the way, for example, of political activities. The absence of any such organized political opposition to the natives requires special comment. In the first place, naturalization of the Poles has proceeded very slowly. The investigation brought out the fact that the evident reluctance on the part of the Poles to obtain citizenship papers is largely due to the fact that most of them see no economic need for it. The words of an informant, "I can raise onions without citizen's papers," brusquely express this attitude. Difficulty in preparing for the examination, especially in cases of illiteracy, is an additional obstacle. The prevalence of illiteracy is shown by the following tabulation.

ILLITERACY AMONG FOREIGN-BORN*

YEAR	TOTAL FOREIGN-BORN	ILLITERATE		
		<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
1905.....	328	138	86	52
1915.....	499	182	90	92

*These figures compare with the total number of foreign-born who could not read nor write, as given by the Massachusetts State Census, 42 per cent. in 1905, and 35 per cent. in 1915, which indicates only a slight improvement in recent years.

More significant, however, is the fact that the average Pole has no incentive to political activities. He is little interested in national affairs but only in the community in which he lives. Even here, however, the Poles do not participate actively in town politics. Those that are naturalized abstain from voting in considerable numbers, have never voted as a unit, in spite of the urging of the priest to assert themselves as a group;⁵ and only a few attend town meetings, where they are silent listeners. Hence, Poles have only thrice occupied official positions in the administration of the township.

There are two main reasons for this state of affairs. One is the traditional complacency with regard to political questions characteristic of the Polish peasantry—a *laissez faire* attitude that expresses itself in submissiveness to established authority. They recognize the right of the Americans to run the administration of government as a matter of course, the democratic conception of "government by the people" being strange to them; and coupled with this attitude of submissiveness goes a frank recognition that because of lack of experience they are not themselves capable of contributing anything to the town administration. The other reason is that on the whole the Poles are satisfied with the way the administration is handled. They have seldom had reason to complain, and probably only acute dissatisfaction would arouse them to united political action. The successive administrations have indeed shown remarkable open-mindedness and common sense in impartially fulfilling their functions. The paid jobs that the town occasionally offers are equally distributed among Poles and natives. The town has been fair in dealing with petitions of Poles for improvements of roads and installation of light. Poor relief is efficiently and promptly handled, and the selectmen perform their services without discrimination. The common sense shown by the Americans in their dealings with the Poles is probably part of a definite policy to keep them in abeyance so long as possible. The natives frequently express fear as to what might happen to the town if the Poles should gain control, as they have to some degree in the neighboring town of Hatfield.

There the Poles are active in political life, vote the Republican

⁵A citizenship club started recently to promote organized political action failed immediately from lack of interest.

ticket as a unit in state and national elections, and take an active interest in town politics. In 1923 they organized a Polish-American club that meets for purposes of discussion and controls the vote. This club, which has sixty members, is very active in promoting naturalization and has established a night school to help prospective citizens prepare for the examinations. Some of this club's leaders occupy official positions in the Republican party.

But Hatfield presents at least one striking contrast to Sunderland. The native-born Irish, who are second in numbers to the Yankees, have a considerable political influence in the town administration, holding nearly half of the official positions. Now it happens that the Irish are in open conflict with the Poles, largely because the latter have refused to join the Irish church and have established a church of their own. The Irish, furthermore, fear the ultimate economic supremacy of the Poles, a fear that is supported by their rapidly growing prosperity. In consequence, the Irish work against Polish interests in the town administration. For example, they have consistently put obstacles in the way of petitions to have roads improved and lights installed in districts predominantly populated by the Poles. The desire of the Poles to prevent the Irish from exercising political control, and to protect themselves from exploitation, has been the incentive of their political organization. They want to show, as an informant expressed it, "that we are just as good as the Irish."

DISORGANIZATION

The decline and weakness of group solidarity among the Poles in Sunderland raises the important question as to the amount of disorganization that accompanies this process of group disintegration.

According to Thomas and Znaniecki in *The Polish Peasant* (Vol. V, p. xvi), delinquency, pauperism, and sexual demoralization, resulting from the breakdown of primary group relations, are present among the American Poles in a much larger measure than among the people in Poland. But the data from which this conclusion is drawn are based upon court records from big cities. How true is the conclusion for the Poles living in a rural community?

A fairly accurate answer to this question has been obtained by an inspection of the records of the Franklin County District Court for the years 1900-1905 and 1920-1925. In each period, approximately 4,000 cases appear on record, among which approximately 300 involve foreign-born of Polish, Lithuanian, or Slovak nationalities. From these 300 cases, one hundred, involving Poles only, have been selected at random for each period, and the type of offense registered. The results for both periods for the whole county are given in the following tabulation.

OFFENSES FOR WHICH POLES OF FRANKLIN COUNTY WERE CONVICTED IN COURT PROCEEDINGS, 1900-1905 AND 1920-1925

TYPE OF OFFENSE	FREQUENCY	
	1900-1905	1920-1925
Assault and battery (imposed fine \$10.00 and less)	58	22
Drunkenness	25	15
Larceny and theft	10	4
Adultery	1	—
Bastardy	—	2
Non-support of parents	—	2
Violation of contract	—	1
Selling liquor	—	10
Violation of traffic laws	—	13
Minor misdemeanor	6	31

The thing that is outstanding in this table is the absence of grave offenses or crimes. The absence of lawsuits also is conspicuous. The three offenses that are cases of delinquency—adultery, bastardy, and non-support—constitute 3 per cent. of the total number of offenses committed.

For Sunderland alone the data reveal not only a small number of offenses but, contrary to expectations, a marked decline, as the following tabulation indicates:

OFFENSES FOR WHICH POLES OF SUNDERLAND WERE CONVICTED IN COURT PROCEEDINGS, 1900-1905 AND 1920-1925

TYPE OF OFFENSE	FREQUENCY	
	1900-1905	1920-1925
Assault and battery	11	1
Larceny	1	—
Drunkenness	—	1
Misdemeanor	—	3
TOTAL	12	5

With regard to dependency, the records of the town treasurer show that the five cases involving Poles have their cause in the death or insanity of the breadwinner.

Because of lack of adequate data, the question of immorality among the young has not been the subject of investigation. But it is notable that there are only three cases of illegitimate births officially recorded for a period of twenty-five years.

All the evidence, therefore, points to the fact that in a rural community like Sunderland there are factors at work that prevent disorganization even though the process of group deterioration is marked. It would follow, therefore, that the country is better suited than the city to accomplish the assimilation of immigrants.

But how true does this beneficial effect of rural life hold for the second generation, the native-born of foreign parentage? The Sunderland data are very illuminating on this point.

THE YOUNGER GENERATION

A considerable degree of maladjustment can be found among the younger generation in Sunderland. It is most pronounced in the relation of parents to children. The only field in which the father can assert his authority is in forcing his children to work and earn their room and board.

The investigation brought out the fact, however, that obedience in this case is not due to a recognition of the right of authority and submission thereto. The younger generation works because its members have to support themselves and prefer to work on the home farm or near home because on the whole this gives them greater freedom and comfort.

Harmonious relations between parents and children are exceptional. In these exceptional cases the parents have got away from traditional modes of behavior and show open-mindedness in accepting new values. They have adopted a higher standard of living, speak the English language well, have widened their horizon of knowledge, and are willing to disregard traditional standards of a religious and moral nature. They do not persist in holding up national solidarity as a duty, and are desirous of having business and social contacts with Americans.

Whenever this is not the case, antagonism is the inevitable

outcome. It shows itself in a defiant attitude, a disrespect of the parents and repeated cases of friction. A girl said to her mother, who asked her not to go out so late at night, "The old lady is crazy, shut up." Parents speak of their children as "these American children," with an air of resignation.

The exaggerated scorn of the children for what they call the awkwardness of their parents and the older generation, for their lack of facility in the use of the English language, their religious beliefs, their traditional points of view, their way of living and lack of sophistication, is not due, however, to a rational evaluation of two contrasting modes of behavior. It is essentially emotional, and has its basis in a strongly developed feeling of inferiority. The young Pole wants to be an American; and he considers his foreign extraction as a shortcoming, if not a stigma. He goes far in trying to eliminate all traces that would indicate his descent. He is reluctant in admitting his connection with the group of recent immigrants, and sometimes prefers to call himself Irish or French.

There is in the young Poles an exaggerated sensitiveness to the opinion of the natives. Since there is no organized opposition against foreigners on the part of the natives, he has not developed a defiant attitude that would lead him to assert himself and emphasize his nativity.

The irritation that is characteristic of the younger generation under the circumstances prevailing in Sunderland affects primarily the relation between parents and children, since it is in the home that the young Pole is constantly reminded of what experience has taught him to regard as an inferior status. He is ashamed of his parents, and therefore treats them with disrespect and even defies them.

Another source of the maladjustment of family life among the immigrants in Sunderland is the inability of the parents to make adjustments to changed conditions. These immigrant parents lack the intelligence, the resources, and, last but not least, the time to educate their children properly and make them appreciative of their own point of view and of the culture of their native country. Nor do they take the trouble to keep up with their children and share their interests. The home offers little that could attract the younger generation. The children have to seek satisfaction for their recreational and intellectual

interests outside the family. In some cases the estrangement goes so far as to limit intercourse between children and parents to the bare essentials that economic coöperation demands.

The usual solution found is a parting of the ways, resignation on the part of the parents as to the doings of their children, avoidance of parents on the part of the children. Americans frequently wonder at the freedom given to the children of the Polish immigrants and the lack of supervision, little realizing that leniency in this case is the only way out of what would otherwise be an intolerable situation. The prevalent opinion of the community is opposed to the doings of the younger generation, but shows its lack of power in resigned toleration.

Besides this maladjustment in family life, there is also maladjustment in the life organization of the younger generation. The younger Poles oppose identification with the Polish community. They deliberately avoid the use of the Polish language, do not join Polish organizations, show lack of interest in collective activities, with the exception of picnics, which they attend but at which they do not mix with the older generation. They seek new experiences outside the Polish community, are not linked up with its interests and thoughts; and in this estrangement they appear as a separate group with its own standards and exclusiveness of intercourse. They have their own meeting-places, mostly dance halls, which depend for their existence largely on the native-born of foreign parentage.

On the other hand, the younger Poles do not mix with the American youth nor are they received in American homes, with the exception of two college boys whom Americans invite on their camping trips and to home entertainments. A girls' club that was recently formed refused admittance to the Polish girls.

The natives resent the Polish youth because their conduct and manners are not to their liking. They urge their children not to associate with their schoolmates of foreign parentage; so that contacts established in schools, where mixing is indiscriminate and ethnic differences are disregarded, are not kept up after the children leave school.

Because of lack of proper educational influences, the majority of the young Poles have accepted modes of behavior and ideas of "smartness" that place them in distinct contrast to the differently bred American youths. In their desire to appear as

real Americans, they have accepted superficially certain elements of American culture; but they lack integrity, their intellectual standard is low, and there is little refinement in their conduct. For this reason, they have to rely for social response upon themselves; and thus the attitude of the natives increases among the young Poles the exclusiveness which their estrangement from the Polish community already has made pronounced.

The young Poles, therefore, are no longer Polish, since they lack the feeling of allegiance to the Polish community; nor are they Americans, since they are excluded from social intercourse with the natives. They do not belong to either society but rather form a society of their own, unorganized, it is true, and without purpose, but enough to satisfy their desire for response.

While thus the maladjustment existing among the younger generation of Poles in Sunderland is acute, it is significant that neither the strain upon family life nor social exclusiveness has led to anti-social behavior. Two factors are mainly responsible for this. First, the younger generation is bound by its economic interest to the community, and is influenced by the stabilizing effect of steady employment and interest in farm work. The young work as hard and as willingly as do the old. Early participation in the struggle for existence has conditioned them to react in this way. The child hardly has left its infancy when it is put to work in the fields or around the house. He sees the labor of his father and mother, he learns the essentials of farming in early years, the love of the soil, and the habit of hard work. Even when the children go to school, they have to do their share of the work after school hours, sometimes till late at night. Secondly, the desire of the young for recognition binds them to the community in which they can best get along and where they are well known and have a well-defined standing. This fact exercises a constructive influence in restraining them from conduct that would lead to a loss of the status they occupy.

The sentiment that underlies both of these factors is well expressed in the reason given by a boy for his return from the city: "Only when I went to the city did I realize the value of what I had left behind me. I felt lonesome there, I disliked eating my meals out, and the monotony of the work. I was unable to make friends and could not get any pleasure out of life, so I came back where work is more to my liking and where I

can be with people I know and who know me." But it is clear that both factors are peculiar to conditions that prevail in rural communities. It is therefore evident that the beneficial effect of rural life as witnessed in the lack of disorganization among the first generation of Poles holds equally true for the second generation.

APPENDICES

Appendix I

DATA ON NATURALIZATION FROM A SPECIAL CENSUS TABULATION OF FOREIGN-BORN IN 177 VILLAGES

In view of the great interest in the subject of immigration in the United States the decennial Census has thus far made public surprisingly little information on the subject of naturalization. There is a popular assumption that one of the reasons why immigrants from the so-called Nordic lands are desirable is because they become citizens. But although the Federal Census collects information on the country of birth of each immigrant no information is published on this point. Length of residence in the United States is certainly a factor likely to influence the citizenship status of immigrants and yet information on this point is not related to naturalization in the Census reports.

It so happened that the Institute of Social and Religious Research in a previous investigation of 177 agricultural villages had secured access to the complete Census data for these villages through the coöperation of the Census Bureau and the United States Department of Agriculture. In these villages there were nearly 11,000 foreign-born, 6,015 males and 4,878 females. Of these, 67.4 per cent. of the males and 72.1 per cent. of the females had become naturalized. Despite the small sample, it was decided to tabulate these cards in order to show the sort of information not now available, its value, and the ease with which it can be secured. Because of the fact that up to and including the time of the 1920 Census, the citizenship status of a woman was determined by that of her husband, the data for the males only were subjected to analysis to see whether the factors of length of residence, age, and race were associated with a high or a low proportion of naturalized citizens.¹

¹There is one interesting fact in regard to the citizenship status of females; namely, the sharp variation from the norm shown by the unmarried. A scant third of the 596 individuals in this group have become citizens as against two thirds of the males and nearly four fifths of all females. Moreover, there is a sharp difference within this group as between those who came from Europe and those whose origin was on this continent. Of the former, two fifths had become naturalized; of the latter, only one sixth. The proportion of naturalized males in these villages from other American countries was

APPENDIX TABLE 1. MALES TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE AND OVER NATURALIZED, FIRST PAPERS, ALIEN, NOT KNOWN, ACCORDING TO DATE OF ENTRY, BY NUMBER AND PER CENT. IN 177 VILLAGES

DATE OF ENTRY	NUMBER			PER CENT.		
	Total	Naturalized	First Papers	Alien	Not Known	Not Known
1919-1911.....	552	73	120	357	2	.4
1910-1901.....	860	431	226	194	9	1.0
1900 and Prior.....	3,920	3,423	234	180	83	2.1

APPENDIX TABLE 2. DATE OF ENTRY, AGE, AND CITIZENSHIP STATUS OF FOREIGN-BORN MALES TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN 177 VILLAGES

	DATE OF ENTRY			AGE 45 and Over %	CITIZENSHIP STATUS			
	1919- 1922 %	1923 and Prior %	Not Known %		Natural- ized %	First Papers %	Alien %	Not Known %
Total.....	6,015	79.5	11.4	33.7	66.0	9.7	13.7	9.1
British Isles.....	940	82.5	11.9	20.4	79.5	7.2	7.0	12.2
Scandinavian.....	1,797	87.5	7.0	30.4	68.1	10.8	6.8	5.7
Other N. W. Europe	1,508	86.0	10.8	23.6	76.2	8.1	7.9	10.0
Latin.....	171	67.2	14.1	68.4	31.6	11.6	33.3	9.5
Other Europe.....	701	73.2	11.1	57.4	42.2	19.5	18.5	8.1
America Not U. S..	812	57.0	21.6	42.7	56.9	3.9	35.7	12.7
All Others*.....	86	41.8	9.4	75.6	24.4	13.9	45.3	9.4

*Base less than 100.

Table 1 sets forth the relation of length of residence to degree of naturalization for these villages. The tabulation showed that of the 3,920 foreign-born village males known to have entered the United States prior to 1900, 87.6 per cent. were naturalized, whereas of the 552 known to have entered between 1911 and 1919, 13.2 per cent. had become full-fledged citizens, proportionately less than one sixth as many. Of the 860 males entering between 1901 and 1910 one half were naturalized and more of this group than of either of the others had taken out first papers, 26.3 per cent. as against 21.7 per cent. in the most recently arrived group, and 6 per cent. among those entering before the beginning of the present century.

These figures suggest strongly a direct relationship between length of residence in the United States and citizenship status, despite the small sample available. Since the rural immigrant has on the average been longer in the United States than the urban, this factor would go a long way toward explaining the known higher proportion of naturalized among rural immigrants.

On the effect of age and race, both in turn being related to the year of entering the United States, the detailed data are set forth in Table 2. In the main, those racial groups which come from the British Isles and the remaining countries of northwest Europe show a high proportion of naturalized male citizens. In the main, also, those nations, a high proportion of whose natives in these villages entered the United States prior to 1911 and those that furnished a high proportion who in 1920 were more than forty-five years of age, show a high proportion of naturalized. But it is also clear that those nations that furnished a high proportion over forty-five years of age were those in northwestern Europe. There is no way then of determining which of these factors is of major importance in influencing naturalization and it is unsafe to predicate, so far as these villagers are concerned, that the immigrants from north European nations possess inherent qualities more likely to lead them to become citizens than those from other parts of the world. Only a tabulation of citizenship status by nationality origin for identical years of entry would give the final evidence needed on this point and the sample was too small to make such a computation worth while.

47.7 per cent., which was lower than the average for all males, but proportionately not nearly as low as the average for the unmarried females. Perhaps the Mexican share of this immigration accounts for part of this difference, but it is also likely that proximity to and sentimental attachments for their native land acted as a retarding factor in naturalization of these unmarried females.

Appendix II

FOREIGN-BORN FARMERS

APPENDIX TABLE 3. CENSUS FACTS ABOUT RURAL FOREIGN-BORN, 1920*.

DIVISIONS AND STATES	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION		LAND AREA (By Miles) (C)	FARMERS PER SQUARE MILE		WHITE FARM OPERATORS		
	Rural (A)	Farm (B)		Ratio of B to A %	(Ratio of B to C) %	Total (D)	Foreign-born (E)	Ratio of (E) to (D) %
United States†	3,355,771	1,471,040	2,973,774	43.8	.49	5,498,270	581,037	10.6
New England	228,926	77,844	61,976	34.0	1.26	156,293	28,265	18.1
Middle Atlantic	672,894	127,563	100,000	19.0	1.28	423,611	46,910	11.1
East North Central	711,653	350,512	248,564	49.3	1.43	1,080,267	144,775	13.4
West North Central	764,577	479,917	510,804	62.8	.94	1,090,032	206,223	18.9
South Atlantic	93,432	18,405	269,071	19.7	.07	775,144	7,373	.9
East South Central	23,532	8,399	179,509	35.7	.05	744,368	3,506	.5
West South Central	238,873	138,621	429,746	58.0	.32	704,238	39,937	5.2
Mountain	271,786	109,688	859,009	40.4	.13	238,662	40,984	17.2
Pacific	350,098	160,091	318,095	45.7	.50	225,839	63,095	27.9
New England								
Maine	48,197	14,131	29,895	29.3	.47	48,214	4,384	9.1
New Hampshire	19,804	7,498	9,031	37.9	.83	20,509	2,619	12.8
Vermont	26,380	12,431	9,124	47.1	1.35	29,047	3,767	13.0
Massachusetts	32,428	22,246	8,039	68.6	1.77	31,880	8,930	28.0
Rhode Island	1,814	2,173	1,067	119.8	2.04	4,063	940	23.1
Connecticut	100,303	19,365	4,820	19.3	4.02	22,580	7,625	33.8

Middle Atlantic									
New York.....	200,762	71,276	35.5	47,654	1.50	192,645	25,776	13.4	
New Jersey.....	110,211	19,393	17.6	7,514	2.58	29,167	6,612	22.7	
Pennsylvania.....	361,921	36,894	10.2	44,832	.82	201,799	14,522	7.2	
East North Central									
Ohio.....	108,248	37,765	34.9	40,740	.93	255,079	14,004	5.5	
Indiana.....	32,055	16,271	50.8	36,045	.45	204,554	6,398	3.1	
Illinois.....	160,274	54,390	33.9	56,043	.97	236,288	22,111	9.4	
Michigan.....	205,081	112,358	54.8	57,480	1.95	195,714	48,264	24.7	
Wisconsin.....	205,995	129,728	63.0	55,256	2.35	188,632	53,998	28.6	
West North Central									
Minnesota.....	244,701	155,846	63.7	80,858	1.93	178,271	67,305	37.8	
Iowa.....	135,628	78,385	57.8	55,586	1.43	213,330	32,221	15.1	
Missouri.....	37,213	20,131	54.1	68,727	.29	260,178	8,343	3.2	
North Dakota.....	115,342	82,859	71.8	70,183	1.18	77,147	36,248	47.0	
South Dakota.....	70,241	47,221	67.2	76,868	.61	73,025	20,325	27.8	
Nebraska.....	90,306	56,084	62.1	76,808	.73	124,033	24,592	19.8	
Kansas.....	71,146	39,391	55.4	81,774	.48	164,048	17,189	10.5	
South Atlantic									
Delaware.....	2,993	1,150	38.4	1,965	.59	9,268	363	3.9	
Maryland.....	14,437	4,372	30.3	9,941	.44	41,699	1,569	3.8	
Virginia.....	11,559	4,445	38.5	40,262	.11	138,456	1,582	.1	
West Virginia.....	42,151	1,661	39.4	24,022	.07	86,785	752	.9	
North Carolina.....	2,860	897	31.4	48,740	.02	193,473	392	.2	
South Carolina.....	2,177	356	16.4	30,495	.01	83,683	141	.2	
Georgia.....	3,754	838	22.3	58,725	.01	180,545	328	.2	
Florida.....	13,499	4,632	34.3	54,861	.08	41,051	2,215	5.4	

*Data from the *Fourteenth Census*, Vol. I, p. 26, Vol. V, pp. 318, 896, 897.

†The District of Columbia has been omitted.

APPENDIX TABLE 3. CENSUS FACTS ABOUT RURAL FOREIGN-BORN, 1920 (continued)

DIVISIONS AND STATES	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION			LAND AREA (By Miles) (C)	FARMERS PER SQUARE MILE (Ratio of B to C) %	WHITE FARM OPERATORS		
	Rural (A)	Farm (B)	Ratio of B to A %			Total (D)	Foreign- born (E)	Ratio of (E) to (D) %
East South Central								
Kentucky.....	9,219	2,665	28.9	40,181	.07	257,998	1,112	.4
Tennessee.....	3,994	1,656	41.5	41,687	.04	214,592	760	.4
Alabama.....	6,479	2,379	36.7	51,279	.05	160,896	1,031	.6
Mississippi.....	3,840	1,699	44.2	46,362	.04	110,882	603	.5
West South Central								
Arkansas.....	8,385	4,939	58.9	52,525	.09	160,322	2,049	1.3
Louisiana.....	12,262	5,813	47.4	45,409	.13	73,404	2,323	3.2
Oklahoma.....	25,757	13,362	51.9	69,414	.19	173,263	5,791	3.3
Texas.....	192,469	114,507	59.5	262,398	.44	357,249	29,774	8.3
Mountain								
Montana.....	60,857	33,642	55.3	146,131	.23	56,614	15,563	27.5
Idaho.....	27,839	14,705	52.8	83,354	.18	41,598	6,314	15.2
Wyoming.....	16,818	5,594	33.3	97,548	.06	15,579	2,273	14.6
Colorado.....	57,328	24,357	42.5	103,658	.23	59,381	9,535	16.1
New Mexico.....	23,412	5,360	22.9	122,503	.04	27,969	1,376	4.9
Arizona.....	49,189	13,711	27.9	113,810	.12	9,329	1,067	11.4
Utah.....	24,144	9,540	39.5	82,184	.12	25,248	3,972	15.7
Nevada.....	12,199	2,779	22.8	109,821	.03	2,944	884	30.0
Pacific								
Washington.....	100,369	44,064	44.4	66,836	.66	65,022	19,757	30.4
Oregon.....	40,643	21,117	52.0	95,607	.22	49,633	9,149	18.4
California.....	209,068	94,910	45.4	155,652	.61	111,184	34,189	30.7

APPENDIX TABLE 4. FARM POPULATION BY STATES, 1920*

<i>Division and States</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Per Cent. Foreign-born White</i>	<i>Ratio of Native- White of Foreign or Mixed Parent- age to Foreign- born White</i>
New England			
Maine.....	197,601	7.2	197.5
New Hampshire.....	76,021	9.9	169.3
Vermont.....	125,263	9.9	174.4
Massachusetts.....	118,554	18.8	153.8
Rhode Island.....	15,136	14.4	163.8
Connecticut.....	93,302	20.8	146.5
Middle Atlantic			
New York.....	800,747	8.9	229.2
New Jersey.....	143,708	13.5	153.8
Pennsylvania.....	948,334	3.9	237.7
East North Central			
Ohio.....	1,139,329	3.3	356.4
Indiana.....	907,295	1.8	473.4
Illinois.....	1,098,262	5.0	386.4
Michigan.....	848,710	13.2	238.2
Wisconsin.....	920,037	14.1	299.6
West North Central			
Minnesota.....	897,181	17.4	276.2
Iowa.....	984,799	8.0	361.3
Missouri.....	1,211,346	1.7	471.0
North Dakota.....	394,500	21.0	236.1
South Dakota.....	362,221	13.0	301.1
Nebraska.....	584,172	9.6	341.9
Kansas.....	737,377	5.3	367.4
South Atlantic			
Delaware.....	51,212	2.2	186.9
Maryland.....	279,225	1.6	263.1
Dist. of Columbia.....	894	6.0	196.3
Virginia.....	1,064,417	.4	186.6
West Virginia.....	477,924	.3	386.6
North Carolina.....	1,501,227	.1	201.6
South Carolina.....	1,074,693	†	269.4
Georgia.....	1,685,213	†	290.4
Florida.....	281,893	1.6	146.2
East South Central			
Kentucky.....	1,304,862	.2	500.3
Tennessee.....	1,271,708	.1	322.3
Alabama.....	1,335,885	.2	225.4
Mississippi.....	1,270,482	.1	253.1
West South Central			
Arkansas.....	1,147,049	.4	309.4
Louisiana.....	786,050	.7	223.3
Oklahoma.....	1,017,327	1.3	334.7
Texas.....	2,277,773	5.0	173.9

*Data from the *Fourteenth Census*, Vol. V, pp. 696-897.

†Less than one tenth of one per cent.

254 IMMIGRANT FARMERS AND THEIR CHILDREN

APPENDIX TABLE 4. FARM POPULATION BY STATES, 1920 (*continued*)

<i>Division and States</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Per Cent. Foreign-born White</i>	<i>Ratio of Native- White of Foreign or Mixed Parent- age to Foreign- born White</i>
Mountain			
Montana.....	225,667	14.9	192.6
Idaho.....	200,902	7.3	294.7
Wyoming.....	67,306	8.3	236.8
Colorado.....	266,073	9.2	211.3
New Mexico.....	166,446	3.3	167.5
Arizona.....	90,560	15.1	72.5
Utah.....	140,249	6.8	421.5
Nevada.....	16,164	17.2	145.1
Pacific			
Washington.....	283,382	15.5	172.2
Oregon.....	214,021	9.9	204.7
California.....	516,770	18.4	137.7

APPENDIX TABLE 5. DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE FARMERS, BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH, BY TENURE, AND BY DIVISIONS

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	NEW ENGLAND			
	NUMBER		PER CENT.	
	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants
Total.....	25,138	2,097	92.30	7.70
England.....	1,522	125	92.41	7.59
Scotland.....	483	24	95.27	4.73
Wales.....	44	4	91.67*	8.33
Ireland.....	1,653	99	94.35	5.65
Norway.....	156	11	93.41	6.59
Sweden.....	1,600	107	93.73	6.27
Denmark.....	332	39	89.49	10.51
Holland.....	81	11	88.04*	11.96
Switzerland.....	173	21	89.18	10.82
France.....	295	10	96.72	3.28
Germany.....	1,658	119	93.30	6.70
Poland.....	1,340	131	91.09	8.91
Austria.....	1,068	69	93.93	6.07
Hungary.....	287	22	92.88	7.12
Russia.....	1,638	150	91.61	8.39
Finland.....	918	33	96.53	3.47
Roumania.....	11	3	78.57*	21.43
Greece.....	53	11	82.81*	17.19
Italy.....	1,489	141	91.35	8.65
Portugal.....	382	66	85.27	14.73
Other European.....	518	47	91.68	8.32
Mexico.....	2	—	100.00	—
Canada.....	8,866	742	92.28	7.72
Other Countries.....	569	112	83.55	16.45

*Base less than 100.

APPENDIX TABLE 5. DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE FARMERS, BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH, BY TENURE, AND BY DIVISIONS
(continued)

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	MIDDLE ATLANTIC			
	NUMBER		PER CENT.	
	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants
Total.....	38,308	7,317	83.96	16.04
England.....	3,180	666	82.68	17.32
Scotland.....	573	111	83.77	16.23
Wales.....	288	80	78.26	21.74
Ireland.....	2,857	420	87.18	12.82
Norway.....	330	17	95.10	4.90
Sweden.....	1,855	185	90.93	9.07
Denmark.....	549	114	82.81	17.19
Holland.....	1,005	277	78.39	21.61
Switzerland.....	685	107	86.49	13.51
France.....	694	90	88.52	11.48
Germany.....	8,884	1,348	86.83	13.17
Poland.....	2,342	583	80.07	19.93
Austria.....	3,645	702	83.85	16.15
Hungary.....	1,192	294	80.22	19.78
Russia.....	2,206	391	84.94	15.06
Finland.....	219	53	80.51	19.49
Roumania.....	131	13	90.97	9.03
Greece.....	41	22	65.08*	34.92
Italy.....	3,712	724	83.68	16.32
Portugal.....	7	—	100.00	—
Other European.....	1,062	223	82.65	17.35
Mexico.....	5	—	100.00	—
Canada.....	2,589	848	75.33	24.67
Other Countries.....	257	49	83.99	16.01
SOUTH ATLANTIC				
Total.....	6,193	819	88.32	11.68
England.....	767	116	86.86	13.14
Scotland.....	187	22	89.47	10.53
Wales.....	37	3	92.50*	7.50
Ireland.....	274	30	90.13	9.87
Norway.....	81	8	91.01*	8.99
Sweden.....	228	19	92.31	7.69
Denmark.....	152	10	93.83	6.17
Holland.....	127	24	84.11	15.89
Switzerland.....	171	14	92.43	7.57
France.....	107	16	86.99	13.01
Germany.....	1,640	177	90.26	9.74
Poland.....	201	19	91.36	8.64
Austria.....	531	150	77.97	22.03
Hungary.....	223	31	87.80	12.20
Russia.....	188	36	83.93	16.07
Finland.....	39	1	97.50*	2.50
Roumania.....	8	2	80.00*	20.00
Greece.....	34	8	80.95*	19.05
Italy.....	272	30	90.07	9.93
Portugal.....	3	—	100.00	—
Other European.....	203	12	94.42	5.58
Mexico.....	1	1	50.00*	50.00

*Base less than 100.

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APPENDIX TABLE 5. DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE FARMERS, BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH, BY TENURE, AND BY DIVISIONS

(continued)

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	NUMBER		PER CENT.	
	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants
Canada.....	554	55	90.97	9.03
Other Countries.....	165	35	82.50	17.50
EAST NORTH CENTRAL				
Total.....	122,469	20,962	85.38	14.62
England.....	4,632	1,075	81.16	18.84
Scotland.....	1,043	168	86.13	13.87
Wales.....	390	86	81.93	18.07
Ireland.....	2,517	473	84.18	15.82
Norway.....	8,886	1,105	88.94	11.06
Sweden.....	9,644	2,168	81.65	18.35
Denmark.....	3,718	746	83.29	16.71
Holland.....	4,404	1,400	75.88	24.12
Switzerland.....	2,779	575	82.86	17.14
France.....	1,074	248	81.24	18.76
Germany.....	39,433	6,048	86.70	13.30
Poland.....	7,090	547	92.84	7.16
Austria.....	6,618	1,180	84.87	15.13
Hungary.....	1,838	817	69.23	30.77
Russia.....	2,926	489	85.68	14.32
Finland.....	5,055	551	90.17	9.83
Roumania.....	78	34	69.64*	30.36
Greece.....	92	63	59.35*	40.65
Italy.....	1,018	369	73.40	26.60
Portugal.....	149	2	98.68	1.32
Other European.....	4,289	1,170	78.57	21.43
Mexico.....	34	3	91.89*	8.11
Canada.....	14,236	1,499	90.47	9.53
Other Countries.....	526	146	78.27	21.73
WEST NORTH CENTRAL				
Total.....	161,002	44,043	78.52	21.48
England.....	3,957	1,091	78.39	21.61
Scotland.....	1,211	338	78.18	21.82
Wales.....	535	105	83.59	16.41
Ireland.....	3,232	633	83.62	16.38
Norway.....	27,634	5,721	82.85	17.15
Sweden.....	25,986	6,009	81.22	18.78
Denmark.....	8,611	3,814	69.30	30.70
Holland.....	3,147	2,844	52.53	47.47
Switzerland.....	2,179	612	78.07	21.93
France.....	835	211	79.83	20.17
Germany.....	42,930	11,477	78.91	21.09
Poland.....	2,429	540	81.81	18.19
Austria.....	6,431	1,534	80.74	19.26
Hungary.....	1,122	275	80.31	19.69
Russia.....	11,809	4,522	72.31	27.69
Finland.....	5,131	402	92.73	7.27
Roumania.....	237	85	73.60	26.40
Greece.....	41	31	56.94*	43.06
Italy.....	422	170	71.28	28.72

*Base less than 100.

APPENDIX TABLE 5. DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE FARMERS, BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH, BY TENURE, AND BY DIVISIONS
(continued)

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	NUMBER		PER CENT.	
	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants
Portugal.....	50	6	89.29*	10.71
Other European.....	5,038	1,758	74.13	25.87
Mexico.....	31	12	72.09*	27.91
Canada.....	7,037	1,581	81.65	18.35
Other Countries.....	967	272	78.05	21.95
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL				
Total.....	2,821	632	81.70	18.30
England.....	222	34	86.72	13.28
Scotland.....	52	8	86.67*	13.33
Wales.....	7	3	70.00*	30.00
Ireland.....	163	21	88.59	11.41
Norway.....	44	3	93.62*	6.38
Sweden.....	206	18	91.96	8.04
Denmark.....	58	12	82.86*	17.14
Holland.....	31	15	67.39*	32.61
Switzerland.....	261	33	88.78	11.22
France.....	77	18	81.05*	18.95
Germany.....	982	91	91.52	8.48
Poland.....	37	2	94.87*	5.13
Austria.....	137	11	92.57	7.43
Hungary.....	73	12	85.88*	14.12
Russia.....	48	10	82.76*	17.24
Finland.....	19	9	67.86*	32.14
Roumania.....	4	—	100.00	—
Greece.....	4	8	33.33*	6.67
Italy.....	163	252	39.28	60.72
Portugal.....	1	—	100.00	—
Other European.....	94	13	87.85*	12.15
Mexico.....	1	2	33.33*	66.67
Canada.....	104	49	67.97	32.03
Other Countries.....	33	8	80.49*	19.51
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL				
Total.....	22,274	17,463	56.25	43.95
England.....	808	162	83.30	16.70
Scotland.....	195	262	42.67	57.33
Wales.....	46	10	82.14*	17.86
Ireland.....	328	69	82.62	17.38
Norway.....	232	78	74.84	25.16
Sweden.....	883	230	79.34	20.66
Denmark.....	378	177	68.11	31.89
Holland.....	120	47	71.86	28.14
Switzerland.....	491	216	69.45	30.55
France.....	465	141	76.73	23.27
Germany.....	8,368	1,952	81.09	18.91
Poland.....	672	236	74.01	25.99
Austria.....	2,849	1,286	68.90	31.10
Hungary.....	217	57	79.20	20.80
Russia.....	1,141	515	68.90	31.10
Finland.....	24	10	70.59*	29.41

*Base less than 100.

258 IMMIGRANT FARMERS AND THEIR CHILDREN

APPENDIX TABLE 5. DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE FARMERS, BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH, BY TENURE AND BY DIVISIONS
(continued)

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	NUMBER		PER CENT.	
	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants
Roumania.....	2	1	66.67*	33.33
Greece.....	13	14	48.15*	51.85
Italy.....	1,555	936	62.42	37.58
Portugal.....	11	4	73.33*	26.67
Other European.....	1,687	864	66.13	33.87
Mexico.....	1,054	9,853	9.66	90.34
Canada.....	433	129	77.05	22.95
Other Countries.....	302	214	58.53	41.47
MOUNTAIN				
Total.....	34,905	5,582	86.21	13.79
England.....	3,380	280	92.35	7.65
Scotland.....	1,136	119	90.52	9.48
Wales.....	442	19	95.88	4.12
Ireland.....	1,177	105	91.81	8.19
Norway.....	3,286	208	94.05	5.95
Sweden.....	3,824	521	88.01	11.99
Denmark.....	2,781	350	88.82	11.18
Holland.....	681	217	75.84	24.16
Switzerland.....	1,054	109	90.63	9.37
France.....	439	47	90.33	9.67
Germany.....	4,842	529	90.15	9.85
Poland.....	298	33	90.03	9.97
Austria.....	1,779	211	89.40	10.60
Hungary.....	254	42	85.81	14.19
Russia.....	2,301	1,324	63.48	36.52
Finland.....	579	38	93.84	6.16
Roumania.....	33	11	75.00*	25.00
Greece.....	131	54	70.81	29.19
Italy.....	1,576	304	83.83	16.17
Portugal.....	53	10	84.13*	15.87
Other European.....	929	204	81.99	18.01
Mexico.....	394	361	52.19	47.81
Canada.....	3,125	341	90.16	9.84
Other Countries.....	411	145	73.92	26.08
PACIFIC				
Total.....	51,223	10,661	82.77	17.23
England.....	3,369	365	90.22	9.78
Scotland.....	1,123	136	89.20	10.80
Wales.....	282	38	88.13	11.87
Ireland.....	1,723	255	87.11	12.89
Norway.....	3,166	272	92.09	7.91
Sweden.....	5,888	468	92.64	7.36
Denmark.....	2,944	444	86.89	13.11
Holland.....	768	193	79.92	20.08
Switzerland.....	2,530	874	74.32	25.68
France.....	956	296	76.36	23.64
Germany.....	8,219	758	91.56	8.44
Poland.....	465	273	63.01	36.99
Austria.....	1,476	259	85.07	14.93

*Base less than 100.

APPENDIX TABLE 5. DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE FARMERS, BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH, BY TENURE, AND BY DIVISIONS
(continued)

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	NUMBER		PER CENT.	
	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants
Hungary.....	232	53	81.40	18.60
Russia.....	1,987	528	79.01	20.99
Finland.....	1,746	115	93.82	6.18
Roumania.....	29	4	87.88*	12.12
Greece.....	131	82	61.50	38.50
Italy.....	3,195	1,703	65.23	34.77
Portugal.....	2,240	1,221	64.72	35.28
Other European.....	1,418	398	78.08	21.92
Mexico.....	103	168	38.01	61.99
Canada.....	4,920	650	88.33	11.67
Other Countries.....	2,313	1,108	67.61	32.39

*Base less than 100.

APPENDIX TABLE 6. AVERAGE VALUE OF THE FARMS OF FOREIGN-BORN FARMERS RANKED BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND BY DIVISIONS

Rank	NEW ENGLAND		MIDDLE ATLANTIC		EAST NORTH CENTRAL	
	Country of Birth	Value per Farm	Country of Birth	Value per Farm	Country of Birth	Value per Farm
1	Switzerland....	\$6,720	Scotland.....	\$ 8,016	Ireland.....	\$15,158
2	Ireland.....	6,218	Norway.....	7,316	Switzerland....	12,767
3	Denmark.....	5,735	France.....	7,282	France.....	12,067
4	England.....	5,598	Ireland.....	6,743	Scotland.....	11,384
5	Norway.....	5,521	Russia.....	6,595	Germany.....	10,813
6	Scotland.....	5,497	Germany.....	6,165	Portugal.....	10,482
7	Italy.....	5,457	England.....	5,996	England.....	10,397
8	Russia.....	5,433	Canada.....	5,984	Norway.....	9,847
9	Canada.....	5,393	Switzerland....	5,494	Sweden.....	8,990
10	Other Europe..	5,358	Denmark.....	5,324	Denmark.....	8,853
11	Germany.....	5,247	Poland.....	5,183	Other Europe..	7,922
12	Sweden.....	5,207	Italy.....	4,834	Canada.....	6,635
13	France.....	5,016	Hungary.....	4,819	Austria.....	6,152
14	Portugal.....	4,893	Portugal.....	4,771	Italy.....	6,062
15	Hungary.....	4,720	Other Europe..	4,708	Poland.....	5,815
16	Poland.....	4,689	Austria.....	4,344	Hungary.....	5,806
17	Austria.....	4,245	Sweden.....	4,204	Russia.....	5,716
18	Finland.....	2,924	Finland.....	3,778	Finland.....	3,497

Rank	WEST SOUTH CENTRAL		MOUNTAIN		PACIFIC	
	Country of Birth	Value per Farm	Country of Birth	Value per Farm	Country of Birth	Value per Farm
1	Ireland.....	\$13,717	Ireland.....	\$15,575	Other Europe..	\$31,136
2	Russia.....	13,167	France.....	13,242	Scotland.....	20,697
3	England.....	12,682	Canada.....	13,068	Ireland.....	20,518
4	Sweden.....	12,325	Switzerland....	12,884	France.....	17,445
5	Scotland.....	12,241	Germany.....	12,803	Russia.....	17,420
6	Denmark.....	12,101	Portugal.....	12,001	Switzerland....	16,722
7	France.....	11,777	Russia.....	11,915	Denmark.....	15,114
8	Canada.....	11,101	Sweden.....	11,721	Canada.....	14,888
9	Germany.....	10,362	Denmark.....	11,236	Portugal.....	14,711
10	Switzerland....	10,307	Norway.....	10,898	Germany.....	14,380

260 IMMIGRANT FARMERS AND THEIR CHILDREN

APPENDIX TABLE 6. AVERAGE VALUE OF THE FARMS OF FOREIGN-BORN FARMERS RANKED BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND BY DIVISIONS

(continued)

Rank	Country of Birth	Value per Farm	Country of Birth	Value per Farm	Country of Birth	Value per Farm
11	Other Europe..	9,816	Other Europe..	10,393	Italy.....	13,810
12	Norway.....	9,763	England.....	10,271	England.....	12,043
13	Austria.....	8,739	Poland.....	8,772	Poland.....	10,550
14	Poland.....	7,058	Austria.....	8,577	Austria.....	9,884
15	Finland.....	5,408	Italy.....	8,271	Sweden.....	9,872
16	Hungary.....	5,035	Finland.....	8,063	Norway.....	8,239
17	Portugal.....	3,790	Hungary.....	6,980	Hungary.....	7,822
18	Italy.....	3,563	Scotland.....	742	Finland.....	6,186
WEST NORTH CENTRAL			SOUTH ATLANTIC		EAST SOUTH CENTRAL	
1	Portugal.....	\$38,114	Scotland.....	\$ 8,915	Ireland.....	\$10,131
2	Germany.....	37,632	Norway.....	8,765	Russia.....	9,564
3	Ireland.....	27,408	Canada.....	8,641	France.....	9,255
4	Scotland.....	25,958	Ireland.....	8,376	Canada.....	7,794
5	Canada.....	22,953	England.....	8,324	Italy.....	7,208
6	England.....	22,414	Russia.....	7,532	Portugal.....	7,000
7	Switzerland...	21,840	France.....	7,515	Switzerland...	6,970
8	Russia.....	21,246	Germany.....	6,826	Germany.....	5,970
9	Austria.....	19,322	Sweden.....	5,938	England.....	5,587
10	Norway.....	18,631	Denmark.....	5,704	Other Europe..	4,234
11	Sweden.....	17,067	Other Europe..	5,259	Denmark.....	4,050
12	France.....	16,936	Portugal.....	5,133	Norway.....	3,744
13	Poland.....	15,300	Switzerland...	5,125	Sweden.....	3,677
14	Hungary.....	13,829	Austria.....	4,418	Austria.....	3,542
15	Italy.....	9,052	Poland.....	3,939	Finland.....	3,331
16	Finland.....	6,449	Italy.....	3,623	Poland.....	2,664
17	Denmark.....	2,426	Hungary.....	3,505	Hungary.....	2,396
18	Other Europe..	2,402	Finland.....	2,371	Scotland.....	919

Appendix III

MARRIAGE OF RURAL FOREIGN-BORN

APPENDIX TABLE 7. PROPORTION* OF IMMIGRANT GROOMS (I's) MARRYING IMMIGRANTS AND PROPORTION OF SONS OF IMMIGRANTS MARRYING DAUGHTERS OF IMMIGRANTS (II's), BY STATES AND PERIODS

	NEBRASKA		WISCONSIN		NEW YORK	
	1900-13 %	1921-25 %	1908-12 %	1920-24 %	1908-12 %	1921-25 %
I (Immigrants).....	78.2	56.2	47.6	79.5	72.9	58.1
II (Sons of Immigrants)...	91.5	93.8	90.0	92.7	80.0	81.7

*Proportions here are based on the grooms who do not marry with native stock.

APPENDIX TABLE 8. PROPORTION OF IMMIGRANT BRIDES (I's)
MARRYING IMMIGRANTS AND PROPORTION OF DAUGHTERS
OF IMMIGRANTS MARRYING SONS OF IMMIGRANTS (II's),
BY STATES AND PERIODS*

	NEBRASKA		WISCONSIN		NEW YORK	
	1909-13 %	1921-25 %	1908-12 %	1920-24 %	1908-12 %	1921-25 %
I Brides.	89.2	71.5	69.2	62.3	81.4	71.5
Points of Difference with Grooms†.	+11.0	+15.3	+21.6	-17.2	+8.5	+13.4
II Brides.	82.5	90.0	78.4	85.3	71.0	71.1
Points of Difference with Grooms†.	-9.0	-3.8	-11.6	-7.4	-9.0	-10.6

*Marriages to native-born grooms have been excluded from this table.

†Compare Table 7 for percentages for grooms.

APPENDIX TABLE 9. RANKING GROOMS OF NATIONALITY GROUPS
BY PER CENT. OF IN-CHOICE* (a) AMONG IMMIGRANTS (I's)
AND (b) AMONG SONS OF IMMIGRANTS (II's), BY
STATES AND PERIODS

NATIONALITY GROUP	(a) IMMIGRANT GROOMS					
	NEBRASKA		WISCONSIN		NEW YORK	
	1909-13 Rank	1921-24 Rank	1908-12 Rank	1920-24 Rank	1908-12 Rank	1921-25 Rank
Anglo-Saxon.	5	5	5	5	3	3
Scandinavian.	2	3	1	4	5	5
Teutonic.	4	2	2	3	4	4
Slavic.	3	1	3	2	2	2
Latin.	1	4	4	1	1	1
	(b) SONS OF IMMIGRANTS					
	NEBRASKA		WISCONSIN		NEW YORK	
	1909-13 Rank	1921-24 Rank	1908-12 Rank	1920-24 Rank	1908-12 Rank	1921-25 Rank
Anglo-Saxon.	3	4	5	5	1	2
Scandinavian.	4	3	1	2	5	5
Teutonic.	1	2	2	3	2	4
Slavic.	2	1	3	1	3	1
Latin.	-†	-†	4	4	4	3

*In-choice means marriage with brides whose nationality group is identical with their groom group; thus English-Scotch or Swedish-Danish or Russian-Czech marriages would be included as in-marriages as well as English-English, etc.

†Not ranked because of small number of cases.

APPENDIX TABLE 10. NATIONALITIES CHOSEN BY BRIDES AND GROOMS OF SPECIFIED GROUPS OF MARRIAGES, BY STATES AND PERIODS

MARRIAGE GROUP	AVERAGE NUMBER OF NATIONALITIES CHOSEN BY ANY GIVEN NATIONALITY					
	NEBRASKA		WISCONSIN		NEW YORK	
	1909-13	1921-25	1908-12	1920-24	1908-12	1921-25
I—I (Grooms).....	2.6	1.7	3.0	2.5	4.4	4.4
I—I (Brides).....	3.9	2.4	3.3	2.8	5.2	5.4
I—II (Grooms).....	2.4	2.8	4.0	2.4	4.9	6.0
I—II (Brides).....	2.8	3.2	4.7	2.1	4.7	5.0
II—I (Grooms).....	1.8	2.8	2.7	1.3	3.8	5.2
II—I (Brides).....	2.0	2.4	3.4	2.4	4.6	5.4
II—II (Grooms).....	4.2	8.7	7.5	5.0	4.5	8.1
II—II (Brides).....	4.7	7.9	7.2	5.0	5.4	8.1

APPENDIX TABLE 11. IN-, INTER-, AND OUT-MARRIAGE OF GROOMS, BY STATES AND PERIODS

TYPE OF MARRIAGE	NEBRASKA		WISCONSIN		NEW YORK	
	1909-13 %	1921-25 %	1908-12 %	1920-24 %	1908-12 %	1921-25 %
In-marriage*						
Grooms I.....	82.6†	64.9	76.6	43.0	71.2	64.6
Grooms II.....	50.5	41.9	60.7	49.8	38.8	34.5
Grooms I and II Combined.....	63.0	45.3	65.2	46.1	53.2	44.9
Inter-marriage*						
Grooms I.....	11.2	14.0	14.0	9.0	9.9	12.1
Grooms II.....	16.8	15.7	16.9	29.0	14.7	17.0
Grooms I and II Combined.....	14.6	15.5	16.2	18.2	12.5	15.3
Out-marriage*						
Grooms I.....	6.2	21.1	9.4	48.0	18.9	23.3
Grooms II.....	32.7	42.4	22.4	21.2	46.5	48.5
Grooms I and II Combined.....	22.4	39.2	18.6	35.7	34.3	39.8

*In-, Inter-, and Out-marriage are here based on the nationality group (i.e., on Anglo-Saxon marrying Anglo-Saxon for In-marriage, etc.).

†The value in number for each of these percentages can be computed from the master table, No. XXXI, on page 79.

APPENDIX TABLE 12. IN-, INTER-, AND OUT-MARRIAGE OF BRIDES
BY STATES AND PERIODS

TYPE OF MARRIAGE	NEBRASKA		WISCONSIN		NEW YORK	
	1909-13 %	1921-25 %	1908-12 %	1920-24 %	1908-12 %	1921-25 %
In-marriage*						
Brides I.	84.9†	72.0	81.4	55.1	73.4	64.9
Brides II.	53.5	46.8	64.7	55.1	44.5	40.2
Brides I and II Combined	64.3	49.9	68.1	55.1	56.1	47.3
Inter-marriage*						
Brides I.	10.7	12.2	12.7	9.9	10.6	14.0
Brides II.	17.0	17.7	17.8	31.7	14.9	16.9
Brides I and II Combined	14.8	17.0	16.8	21.7	13.2	16.1
Out-marriage*						
Brides I.	4.4	15.8	5.9	35.0	16.0	21.1
Brides II.	29.5	35.5	17.5	13.2	40.6	42.9
Brides I and II Combined	20.9	33.1	15.1	23.2	30.7	36.6

*In-, Inter-, and Out-marriage percentages are based on nationality groups.

†The value in number for each of these percentages can be computed from the master table, No. xxxi, on page 79.

APPENDIX TABLE 13. OUT-CHOICE OF IMMIGRANT GROOMS,* BY NATIONALITY GROUPS, FOR STATES AND PERIODS

STATE	PERIOD	ANGLO-SAXON		SCANDINAVIAN		TEUTONIC		SLAVIC		LATIN	
		Total Cases†	Out-choice %	Total Cases†	Out-choice %	Total Cases†	Out-choice %	Total Cases†	Out-choice %	Total Cases†	Out-choice %
Nebraska.....	1909-13	398	51.3	499	23.0	1,239	18.8	417	4.3	16	37.5†
Nebraska.....	1921-25	685	62.9	1,022	38.2	2,307	39.3	855	20.9	60	43.3†
Wisconsin.....	1908-12	700	35.9	1,485	15.9	3,302	18.6	646	4.5	264	23.9
Wisconsin.....	1920-24	112	43.8	404	36.4	705	38.9	425	28.7	82	29.3†
New York.....	1908-12	4,338	44.0	264	39.4	3,312	34.9	795	2.4	875	11.8
New York.....	1921-25	3,665	52.8	437	55.6	3,186	43.8	1,088	9.5	1,494	16.9

*Immigrants (I's) and Sons of Immigrants (II's) are treated as a composite group in this table.

†The figures given under "Total Cases" make it possible for anyone interested to determine the relative importance of any given racial group in the total number of foreign-born and foreign-stock groomers.

‡Base less than 100.

APPENDIX TABLE 14. OUT-CHOICE OF IMMIGRANT BRIDES,* BY NATIONALITY GROUPS, FOR STATES AND PERIODS

STATE	PERIOD	ANGLO-SAXON		SCANDINAVIAN		TEUTONIC		SLAVIC		LATIN	
		Total Cases†	Out-choice %	Total Cases†	Out-choice %	Total Cases†	Out-choice %	Total Cases†	Out-choice %	Total Cases†	Out-choice %
Nebraska...	1909-13	319	46.7	524	21.2	1,211	19.3†	446	6.0†	20	30.0†
Nebraska..	1921-25	547	58.5	948	34.9	2,127	32.6	805	14.9	54	38.9†
Wisconsin..	1908-12	614	31.8	1,476	14.6	3,159	14.5	657	4.4	229	14.4
Wisconsin..	1920-24	98	33.7†	353	22.4	595	27.0	371	17.5	81	12.3†
New York..	1908-12	4,041	39.7	270	37.8	3,166	31.6	772	2.5†	830	7.2
New York..	1921-25	3,613	49.4	361	51.8	3,020	39.9	1,102	11.0†	1,279	10.6

*Immigrants (I's) and Daughters of Immigrants (II's) are treated as a composite group in this table. (See also note on "Total Cases" in Table 7.)

†Italicized percentages are higher for Brides than for Grooms, all others are lower for Brides.

‡Base less than 100.

Appendix IV

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is impossible to mention by name all who contributed to the making of this study of the foreign-born farmers. The special services of the following should, however, be acknowledged:

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Dr. C. B. Smith

U. S. CENSUS BUREAU

Leon Truesdell

STATE BOARDS OF HEALTH

J. V. DePorte (New York)

L. W. Hutchcroft (Wisconsin)

Hattie M. Summers (Nebraska)

COLLEGES OF AGRICULTURE

Prof. Rex Willard (North Dakota)

Prof. I. G. Davis (Connecticut)

Prof. J. O. Rankin (Nebraska)

Prof. J. H. Kolb (Wisconsin)

Prof. Eben Mumford (Michigan)

COUNTY AND REGIONAL SUPERINTENDENTS OF SCHOOLS

Jason S. Hoffman (Hunterdon County, N. J.)

L. E. Johnson (Eau Claire County, Wis.)

Emma Meistrik (Yankton County, S. D.)

L. T. Garrison (Willimantic, Conn.)

E. S. Russell (Simsbury, Conn.)

FIELD WORKERS

Marjorie Patten

Elizabeth R. Hooker

Rachel M. Walp

Elizabeth Clapp

Elizabeth Wootten, now Mrs. Paul Saunders

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